THE EARLY KUṢĀṆAS

BALDEV KUMAR

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(A History of the Rise and Progress of the Kusāna Power under the Early Kusana Rulers—from Kujula Kadphises to Vāsudeva)

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FOREWORD

As desired by the Panjab University I have revised my Thesis on the Early Kusanas by making some additions in it

(a) The theory of Ghirshman regarding the date of Kaniska which was mentioned on p viii and discussed on pp 63 65 of the Thesis is re examined in Appendix II

(b) A brief account of the excavations carried out at Begrām relating to the Early Kuṣana period is given in Appendix III to supplement the description given about them on p 177

(c) The importance of the recent discoveries at Surkh Kotal which was alluded to at p 68 is now explained in Appendix IV.

(d) The ruins of the Kusana period which have been recently unearthed at Termez and other sites in the U S S R are described in Appendix V

(e) Some additional matter which has been recently published about the early Kusāna period has also been incorporated

My work is based on all kinds of original sources including the French I am particularly obliged to Mr D Schlumberger (Director) and Mr A Hilmi (Secretary) of the Delegation Archeologique Francaise en Afghanistan Kabul for supplying me with a copy of photograph of the inscription found at Surkh Kotal and to the Societe Des Amis Musee Guimet Paris for sending me a print of a toilet scene found on an ivory-box excavated at Begram The articles published in the Journal *Asiatique* and other periodicals have also proved of great use to me in the preparation of my thesis I am however unable to subscribe to the theories advocated by most of the French historians placing the date of Kaniska s accession to the throne in the second century A D

I am grateful to all those archaeologists, numismatists, epigraphists and other scholars whose works I have consulted and to Sh Jagan Nath Aggarwal M A, Head of the Sanskrit Department, and Dr H R Gupta, M A Ph D, D Litt Head of the History Department of the Panjab University for their invaluable guidance I am obliged to the Librarian of the Archaeological Library, New Delhi the Banaras Hindu University Library, Varanasi, and the

V V Research Institute Library, Hoshiarpur, for providing me with special facilities for doing my research work I am indebted to the Director of Archaeology, Pakistan, for sending me the photograph on the "Fasting Buddha" and for giving me the permission to reproduce it I also express my sincere thanks to Mr D C Sircar, Government Epigraphist for India, Mr Hou Wai-lu, Vice-Director, Institute of Medieval History, Academia Sinica, Peking, Mr B Gafurob, Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow, the Director of the Library Services, U S I S, New Delhi, and to Dr V S Agrawala, M A, Ph D, D Litt, and Dr A S Altekar, M A Ph D, D Litt for supplying me with useful information on various topics

I admit that there are many difficulties in solving the perplexing problem of the Kusāna chronology I have mentioned them fully in my thesis on pp viii-ix and 58-60.

There is no denying the fact that the problem is extremely controversial and that we cannot be dogmatic about its solution with the present state of our knowledge But I have discussed the various theories which have been propounded to solve the enigma, and have advocated a system of chronology which is supported by a mass of evidence derived from original sources, and which, I think, offers the best working hypothesis for dealing with this period

Baldev Kumar

INTRODUCTION

This book is meant for giving a history of the rise and progress of the Kuṣāṇa Power under the early Kusana rulers—from Kujula Kadphises, the first Kusana king, to Vasudeva, the last great Kusana emperor about whom there is some definite epigraphic record It also attempts to solve the vexed problem of their chronology, to explain the progress of art and literature during their rule to give an account of their commercial and cultural relations with foreign countries and to describe the condition of the people in their empire

The early Kusana kings played an important part in the history of India and Central Asia, and made a great contribution to the cultural advancement of all the territories under their control Although their ancestors—the descendants of the nomadic Yue-chi horde who had settled in the Oxus valley—had no refined culture of their own, they proved to be great patrons of art and literature Under their kind patronage, the Gandhāra and the Mathura schools of art reached new heights of glory, and fine specimens of sculpture produced during their period can still be seen exhibited in the various museums of India and Pakistan They built cities, temples, chaityas stūpas and other places of public welfare, and employed Indian and foreign artists to beautify their buildings Asvaghoṣa, the great philosopher and dramatist, flourished at the court of Kaniska who is also credited with the foundation of the era which has now become the basis of the Indian National Calendar Cultural contacts were established with other countries, and a Chinese official first learnt to know the Buddhist sutras by oral transmission through the agency of an ambassador of a Kusāna king It was also during their period that Buddhism was formally introduced into China Trade and commerce grew rapidly between India and the Roman empire, and India served as an entrepot for a part of the Chinese trade with Arabia and Parthia The extremely favourable balance of trade which the Kusāna empire enjoyed in its trade with Rome resulted in the import of the precious Roman specie on a large scale and the consequent issue of an extensive gold coinage by the Kusāna emperors The policy of religious toleration and

complete freedom of worship which they followed is worthy of emulation even in modern times

In spite of all their achievements, there is much about them which is still shrouded in mystery The name of Kaniṣka, their most renowned ruler is quite familiar to all students of Indian history, and it also survives in the Buddhist legends of Tibet, Mongolia and other parts of China But the question of the period during which he ruled has proved a great enigma, as the contemporary inscriptions are dated in an era which has not been definitely determined It has aroused the curiosity of many eminent historians who have tried to solve the puzzle from different points of view, and have propounded various theories in support of their contentions They carry the initial year of his reign over a period of 1634 years, ranging from B C 1356 advocated by D S Triveda to A D 278 expounded by D R Bhandarkar The other dates which have been proposed in this connection by different scholars such as Cunningham, Fleet Barnett, Kennedy, Kimura Sylvain Levi Oldenberg, Rapson, Banerji, Thomas Smith, Stein, Marshall Sten Konow, Ghirshman, Mankad and Majumdar are 58-57 B C 47 B C, 11 B C, 5 B C 43 A D, 78 A D, 88 89 A D about 120 A D, 125 A D, 128-29 A D 134 A D 144 A D, 150 A D ± 200 A D and about 220 A D, The manner in which some of the authors have changed their views is very perplexing Cunningham shifted from 57 B C to 89 A D Oldenberg from 78 A D to about 90 A D, Smith from 78 A D to 125 A D, again to 78 A D and later to about 120 A D, and Konow from 134 A D to 128 29 A.D and later to ± 200 A D It is also strange that the methods such as those of omitted hundreds for explaining dates in the inscriptions of the Kuṣana period which were once popular, afterwards discarded, are now being revived [1] Other problems which have proved highly controversial are

(a) the very name of the dynasty (Kusi, Kuisa Kusa, Kuṣāna, Kuṣana),

1 The symposia held in London in 1913 and 1960 on the date of Kaniṣka have not solved the question of Kuṣāna chronology The Dushanbe Conference which was held in 1968 in U S S R dealt with the culture of Central Asia in the Kuṣana period, but did not arrive at any conclusion regarding the date of the Kuṣāna rulers

(b) their origin and nationality (Tibetan, Chinese, Turk or Iranian),

(c) the order of their succession,

(d) the duration of their reigns,

(e) the extent of their empire,

(f) the missions sent by them to foreign countries and

(g) their religious policy

No work which discusses all these problems by utilising the relevant contemporary and original sources has so far been published Some writers have arrived at wrong conclusions by relying exclusively on the general statements made in certain ancient books, and taking only one sided view of the picture For example, Jayaswal has been misled into severely condemning the Kusana rule in India by neglecting the contemporary epigraphic and numismatic evidence

This book deals with all the topics with the help of the original sources—inscriptions, coins contemporary Chinese, Greek and Indian works the latest discoveries made by archaeologists from ancient mounds and ruins and the legends preserved in the old accounts of the Chinese pilgrims and other writers

But the task of tackling the original materials presents great difficulties The inscriptions are dated in an unspecified era and the coins of the Kuṣāṇa kings bear no dates The Chinese annalists seldom give the names of the Kusana kings about whom they are writing and the Chinese religious books which are mostly translations of Indian Buddhist works are full of legends and myths Some legends of this type which are not mentioned in them are preserved in the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims such as Fa-hien, Hiuen Tsang and Sung-Yun or in Kalhana s *Rajatarangini* and Alberuni s *Tahkik i Hind* They have been reproduced in detail and examined critically, as they were seriously believed by the Buddhists of those times and as they contain some genuine historical traditions

A brief history of the wanderings of the Yue chi the parent-stock of the Kusānas from their original homelands in Kansu to Bactria is also given. It is extremely valuable for the explanation of the origin and nationality of the Kusānas and for the determination of their chronology

Some of the salient points which have been brought to light or clarified and some of the theories which have been advocated in this book are the following

1 The word Kusana was used in various senses in different contexts in ancient times, it was originally used to indicate a principality in Bactria in Central Asia, but was later on associated with the name of its ruler, his kingdom, his clan or tribe, his dynasty and the personal appellation or name of the ruler of the dynasty But the Chinese continued to call the Kusanas by their old name "Ta Yue-chi", even after their new designation had come into vogue

2 The real name of the dynasty which Kujula Kadphises founded was Kusāna not Kuisa, Kusa, Kuisi or Kusana

3 The Kusanas were not Turk, Iranian or Tibetan, the most appropriate term for their nationality is the word Kuṣāna itself, as it was employed to designate them as well as their homeland

4 Kaniska ascended the throne in 79 A D and started a new regnal reckoning of his own which was continued by his successors, and which, later on, came to be known as the Śaka era It has now become the basis of the Indian National Calendar

5 The ruler who is mentioned in the Ara inscription of the year 41 was Kaniska II not Kaniska I.

6 Huviska was the son of Kaniska I and the grandson of Wema Kadphises

7 The Gandhāra and the Mathura schools of art produced many fine pieces of sculpture during the Kusana period, even though the Peshawar casket reliquary does not show any great artistic merit

8 The stupa which Kaniska built at Purushapura was regarded as a wonder of the world for many centuries, and many foreign visitors came to see it

9 Aśvaghosa was the only famous man of letters who lived at the court of Kaniska He was quite different from Matrcheta with whom he has sometimes been confused Charaka, the famous physician of Kaniska, was not the author of Charaka Samhita, and Nāgarjuna, the renowned Buddhist philosopher, had nothing to do with the Kusāna kings

10 The Indian king who sent an embassy to Augustus has been wrongly identified by historians with Kujula Kadphises

11 The Kuṣāna empire carried on a flourishing trade with Rome, both by land and sea The traders reaped huge profits, but they had to face many hardships in their journeys The routes which they followed and the dangers which they encountered are all fully described in this book from original sources It is interesting to note that some of them practised adulteration even in those times, but tests had been devised to detect their malpractices

12 The Kuṣāna empire was, on the whole rich and prosperous, but there was poverty in the midst of plenty The rich were, however, fond of performing acts of religious merit and charity and recording them in inscriptions

13 The Kuṣana kings followed the policy of religious toleration, and the followers of different faiths performed their religious functions without any interference There were, no doubt, some feelings of petty jealousy among the Buddhists and the Jains, but there was no religious persecution or warfare There is absolutely no justification for the views of Jayaswal that the Kuṣānas were a "political and social scourge" who aimed at the destruction of Hindu culture

14 The Buddhists and the Jains had highly developed monastic organizations

15 Women enjoyed great freedom and some of them occupied responsible positions in the religious orders of the Buddhists and the Jains

Great pains have been taken to prepare maps illustrating the various themes They are based on a careful analysis of the data furnished by ancient writers such as Ptolemy, Strabo, Isidore of Charax and the author of the Periplus

Copies of the photographs of some coins and images have also been inserted to clarify the arguments about the nationality of the Kuṣanas, their religion and other topics Some of the coins form a part of my personal collection, and were obtained with great difficulty

A list of inscriptions issued during the early Kusāna period in the territories directly under their control has been compiled for the first time It gives details about the year in which each inscription was issued, the name and titles of the king mentioned in it, its find-spot, the script in which it is written, a brief summary of its contents, and the relevant references

The Bibliography includes short notes on the original sources, explaining how far they have proved valuable in the preparation of this book

—*Baldev Kumar*

REFERENCE ABBREVIATIONS

AA	*Ariana Antiqua* (H Wilson, London, 1841)
AAIBHJ	*Art and Architecture of India, Buddhist, Hindu and Jain* (Benjamin Rowland, Middlesex, 1954)
ABORI	*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona
AGG	*L' Art Greco-bouddhique der Gandhara* (A Foucher, Paris, 2 Vols, 1905, 1918)
AGI	*Ancient Geography of India* (A Cunningham, London 1871)
AHIS	*Ancient and Hindu India* (V A Smith, Oxford, 1934)
AI (BASI)	*Ancient India (Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India)*
AICL	*Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature* (J W McCrindle, Westminster, 1901)
AIE	*Ancient Indian Education* (R K Mookerji, London, 1947)
AIP	*Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy* (J W McCrindle, Bombay, 1885)
AIS	*Alberuni's India* (E C. Sachau, London, 1914).
AK	*Ancient Khotan* (M A Stein, Oxford, 1901)
AM	*Archaeology in the U S S R* (Alexander Mongait, Moscow, 1959),
AO	*Acta Orientalia*
ARBK	*A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms by Fa hien* (Translated by James Legge, Oxford, 1886).
ASIAR	*Archaeological Survey of India Annual Reports.*

ASIR	*Archaeological Survey of India Reports 1862 84* (A Cunningham)
BBD	*Bruchstucke buddhistischen Dramen* Kon Preuss Turfan Expeditionen Berlin 1911 (G Buhler)
BC	*Buddhacharita* (Asvaghoṣa)
BEFEO	Bulletin de l Ecole francaise d Extreme Orient
BF	*Beitrage aus Chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntis der Turk Volker and Skythan Zentralassens Abhandlunen Kon Preuss Akad d Wissenschaften* (O Franke, Berlin, 1904)
BG	Begram, *Recherches Archeologiques Et Historiques Sur Les Kouchans, Memoires De La Delegation Archeologique Francaise En Afghanistan,* Tome XII R Ghirshman, Le Caire, 1946)
BIC	*Bibliography of Indian Coins,* Part I Noh-Muhammadan Series (Edited by A S Altekar, Bombay, 1950)
BMQ	*British Museum Quarterly*
BRWW	*Buddhist Records of the Western World* (Translated by S Beal, Boston, 1885 London, 1906),
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* University of London
CAMM	*Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum, Mathura,* 1910 (J P Vogel Allahabad, 1910)
CBIMA	*Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art* (V S Agrawala Lucknow 1951)
CBM	*Coins of the Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum* (P Gardner London, 1886)
CCIM	*Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta* (V A Smith, Oxford 1906)
CCPM	*Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore* (R B Whitehead, Oxford, 1914)

CCR	*Catalogue of the Coins Collected by C J Rodgers and Purchased by the Government of the Punjab* (Calcutta, 1895)
CHI	*Cambridge History of India* (Edited by E J Rapson Cambridge, 1922)
CHIS	*Comprehensive History of India* (K A N Sastri, Calcutta, 1957)
CHM	*Cahiers D Histoire Mondiale,* III, 1957
CIB	*Coins of India* (C J Brown, Calcutta 1922)
CII	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (Vol II, Pt I) *Kharoshthi Inscriptions* (Edited by Sten Konow, London 1929)
CIS	*Coins of the Indo Scythians* (A Cunningham London 1888)
CK	*Coins of the Kushans* (A Cunningham London, 1892)
COD	*Concise Oxford Dictionary*
CPB	*Central Philosophy of Buddhism* (T R V Murti, London 1955)
CWB	*Collected Works of Sir R G Bhandarkar* (Vol I, Poona 1933)
DK	*Drevnij Khorezm* Moscow, 1948
EHI	*Early History of India* (V A Smith, Oxford 1914)
EI	*Epigraphia Indica*
ESM	*Eransahr Nach der Geographie des Ps Moses Xorenaci* (J Marquart, Berlin 1901)
FFT	*Fou fa ts ang in iuen tch oen*
GBI	*The Greeks in Bactria and India* (W W Tarn, Cambridge, 1951)
GT	*Guide to Taxila* (Sir John Marshall, Delhi 1918)
GTG	*Gorodisce Tali Barzu*-Leningrad, 1940

HB	*Hinduism and Buddhism* (Eliot, Vol II, Routledge, 1954)
HC	*Harshacharita* (Bāna, translated by E B Cowell and F W. Thomas, London 1897)
HCIP	*History and Culture of the Indian People* (Vol II) (Edited by R C Majumdar, Bombay, 1953).
HCW	*History of China* (Eberhard Wolfram, Los Angeles, 1950)
HHC	*Heou Han Chou* (History of the Later Han Dynasty) (Fan Ye)
HIIA	*History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (A K Coomaraswamy, London, 1927)
HIJ	*History of India* (A D 150-350) (K P Jayaswal, Lahore, 1934)
HIOH	*History of India as Told by Its Own Historians* (Elliot and Dowson, London, 1877)
HPS	*History of Persia* (P Sykes, Vol I London, 1951)
HSLW	*History of Sanskrit Literature by Winternitz* (Vol II, translated by Mrs S Ketkar and Miss H Kohn, Calcutta, 1933).
IA	*Indian Antiquary*
In An	*India Antiqua*
IABH	*Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu Period* (Percy Brown, Bombay, 1950)
IAC	*India and China* (P C Bagchi, Bombay, 1950)
IAG	*Indian Archaeology (A Review)* (A Ghosh, 1955)
IBIWW	*Intercourse between India and the Western World to the Fall of Rome* (H G Rawlinson, Cambridge, 1916)
IC	*Indian Culture*
ICG	*Indian Costume* (G S Ghurye, Bombay, 1951)

ICR	*Indian Coins* (E J Rapson, Strassburg 1898)
IG	*Iran* (R Ghirshman, Suffolk, 1954)
JHQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly*
IP	*Indian Palaeography* (R B Pandey Banaras 1952)
ITAT	*Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana* (Philostratos translated by Priaulx London, 1873)
JA	*Journal Asiatique*
JAI	*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JBBORS	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Oriental Research Society*
JBORS	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*
JBBRAS	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JCBRAS	*Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JIH	*Journal of Indian History*
JNSI	*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*
JOS	*Journal of Oriental Research*
JPASB	*Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JPTS	*Journal of the Pali Text Society*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*
JRASB	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JRGS	*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.*
JUPHS	*Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.*
KI	*Kharoshthi Inscriptions* (Parts I and II) (A M Boyer, E J Rapson and E Senart, Oxford, 1929)
KML	*Kalpanamanditika,*

	(Kumarlata vide Luder s Bruchstucke der Kalpanam andıtıka des Kumarlata Leipzig, 1926)
KSIE	*Kratkıe Soobsccinıa Instıtuta Etnografıı* Akademıı Nauk SSSR
KSII	*Kratkıe Soobsce ııa O Dokladakh I Polevykh* Issledovanıjakh Instituta Istorıı Materıalnoj Kultury
KSIU	*Kushan Studies ın U S S R* (B Gafurov and Others, Calcutta 1970)
LAIJC	*Life ın Ancıent India as Depicted ın the Jaın Canons* (J C Jaın Bombay)
LBI	*List of the Brahmı Inscrıptıons* (H Luders Calcutta, 1912)
LHT	*Life of Hıeun Tsang* (Shaman Hwuı lı translated by Samuel Beal, London, 1911)
LIS	*Later Indo Scythıans* (A Cunningham, London 1893)
LRB	*Lıterary Remaıns of Dr Bhau Daji* (Calcutta, 1887),
MASI	*Memoırs of the Archaeological Survey of India*
MDM	*Mathura, a District Memoır* (F S Growse, 1880)
MIAS	*Materıaly I Issledovanıja po* Arkheologıı SSSR
MK	*Maharajakanıkalekha* (Matrcheta)
MS	*Monuments of Sanchı* (J Marshall and A Foucher, London)
NC	*Numısmatıc Chronıcle*
NH	*Natural History* (Plıny)
NHIP	*New History of the Indian People* (Vol VI) (R C Majumdar and A S Altekar Lahore, 1946)
NIA	*New Indian Antiquary*
NIS	*Northern India according to the Shuı ching chu* (L Petech Rome, 1950)
NMAT	*New Materıal regarding the Archaeology ın Tajıkıstan* (B A Lıtvınsky 1957)
NS	*Numısmatıc Supplement*
OGP	*Outlıne of Geography* by Ptolemy
OPA	*On the Pecularıtıes of Anımals* (C Aelıan)

OYCT	*On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* (Translated by T Watters, London, 1905)
PASB	*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
PC	*People s China*
PCM	*Puranic Chronology* (D R Mankad, Anand, 1951)
PHAI	*Political History of Ancient India* (H C Ray Chaudhri, Calcutta 1927)
PK	*The Problem of the Kusanas and the Origin of the Vikrama Samvat* (S K Dikshit, Poona, 1958)
POES	*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (Translated by W H Schoff, Calcutta, 1912)
PSIC	*Parthian Stations of Isidore of Charax* (Translated from Greek by W H Schoff, Philadelphia, 1914)
RBR	*A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago by I-tsing* (Translated by J Takakusu, Oxford, 1896)
RCRC	*Report of the Calendar Reform Committee* (New Delhi, 1955)
RSCE	*Rise and Splendour of the Chinese Empire* (Rene Grousset, London, 1952),
RT	*Rājataranginī* (Kalhana, translated by M A Stein, London, 1900).
SA	*Sutralamkāra* (Translated into Chinese by Kumarajiva about 405 A D)
SACI	*Some Ancient Cites of India* (Stuart Piggot Bombay, 1945)
SBAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin*
SDPNS	*Śri-dharma Pitaka nidana sutra* (Translated into Chinese by Ki-kia-ye and Tan-iao in 472 A D)
SH	*Sakastan* (Herzfeld, Berlin, 1932)
SIH	*Surgical Instruments of the Hindus* (G N Mukhopadhyaya, Vol I, Calcutta, 1913)
SI	*Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization* (Vol I) (D C Sarkar, Calcutta, 1946)
SIS	*Serindia by* M A Stein (Oxford, 1921)

SK	*Sse kı (Historical Records)* (Ssu ma chien, completed before 91 B C)
SN	*Saundrananda* (Aśvaghosa)
SP	*Scythian Period* (Lohuizen-De Leeuw Leiden, 1949)
SRPS	*Samyukta ratna pitaka sutra* (Translated into Chinese by Ki kia ye and Tan iao in 472 A D)
SSLK	*Scytho Sassanian and Little Kushans* (A. Cunningham London 1893)
TF	*Travels of Fa hsien* (H H Giles Cambridge 1923)
TFS	*Travels of Fa hien and Sung Yun* (Translated by S Beal London 1869)
THA	*Tahkik i Hind* by Alberuni
THC	*Tsien Han Chou (The History of the First Han Dynasty)* (Pan ku)
TN	*Taranath* (Translated by F A Von Schiefner, St Petersburg, 1869)
TP	*Toung Pao*
TPTK	*Tsa Pao tsang king*
UZGVE	*Untersuchungen Zur Geschichte Von Eran*
VDI	*Vestnik Drevnej Istorii*
WW	*Works of the Late Horace Hayman Wilson (Vol IX), the Vishnu Purāna* (Edited by F Hall London, 1868)
WZKM	*Weiner Zeitschrift fur die Kund des Morgenlandes*
YB	*2500 Years of Buddhism* (Edited by P V Bapat New Delhi 1956)
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*

CONTENTS

1

THE KUŚĀNAS—THEIR NOMENCLATURE AND NATIONALITY

A Their Nomenclature

DIFFERENT FORMS OF THE NAME "KUŚĀNA"

The name Kusana is found spelled in several slightly different forms in the various languages, and its correct pronunciation has often proved an enigma to many historians In the old Indian Kharoshthi[1] inscriptions it is written as Gushana' and 'Khushana —'Gushana' in the Manikiala Stone inscription of the year 18[2] and the Panjtar Stone inscription of the year 122[3] and Khushana' in the Taxila Silver Scroll inscription of the year 136[4] These forms also appear in the Kharoshthi coin legends[5] of Kujula Kadphises In the Central Asian Kharoshthi inscriptions, the name is given as "Kushana"[6] and 'Kurshana' [7] But in the Greek legends on some coins of the dynasty, it is represented as "KOPANO"[8] and on others as "KOPΣANO"[9] 'KOCANO"[10] and '/OPAN"[11] The Brahmi[12] inscription found at Mat near Mathura however has made the name quite clear "Kusana(m) putr(o)"[13] The same form occurs on the coins of Hormazd II[14] and of other Sassanian kings[15] the second vowel in the name being marked long "Rabba Kushan"[16] and "Kushan malkan malka'[17] The Chinese version 'Koei shuang ("Koei choang" or "Kwei shwang')[18] appears to have a close resemblance to it The Brahmi vers on which is supported by the Sassanian and Chinese evidence has therefore, been accepted as the correct one The different spellings 'Kusana" in Kharoshthi script are due to the fact that long vowels are not marked in it[19]

ITS DIFFERENT MEANINGS IN DIFFERENT CONTEXTS

The word Kusana is used in four senses in the old chronicles and inscriptions

(a) as the name of a principality or kingdom,

(b) as the name of a sept or clan,

(c) as the name of a dynasty, and

(d) as the personal appellation or name of the rulers of the dynasty

The Chinese annals of the Han dynasty[20]—the Tsien Han Chou and the Heou Han Chou—provide a clear indication of the way in which the word became associated with these meanings Both of them mention it as the name of a principality in Tahia (Bactria)[21] According to the Tsien Han Chou its capital was Hu-tsao and it was under a Hei hou (chieftain) who was dependent on the Ta Yue-chi[22] The Heou Han Chou describes the division of Tahia into five principalities one of which was Koei-choang (Kusāna),[23] and adds, "About a hundred years afterwards, Kieou-tsieou-kio (Kujula Kadphises), the prince of Koei choang (Kusāna), attacked and subdued the other four principalities and constituted himself king (wang) of a kingdom which was called Koei choang (Kusāna) He invaded the country of A-si (Parthia), seized upon the territory of Kao fu (Kabul), destroyed also Po-ta and Kipin, and became completely master of these countries . His son ... conquered Tien-Chu (India) All the countries designate them Koei-choang (Kusāna) calling (their king) the Koei choang (Kusāna) king, but the Han[24] call them Ta Yue-chi, preserving their old appellation."[25]

It is quite obvious that Koei-choang or Kusāna was originally the name of one of the five Yue-chi principalities in Tahia Its chief, Kujula Kadphises, identified himself with its name,[26] and when he conquered the other four principalities, he constituted himself king of a large kingdom which was also called by the same name[27] The Ta Yue-chi of his original principality came to be known as the Kusānas or the Kusana sept, even though the Han continued to call them by their old name Kujula Kadphises[28] and some of his successors—Kaniska,[29] Huviska[30] and Vāsudeva[31]—assumed the title "KOPANO" (Kosano) in their coin legends, and his dynasty is, therefore, aptly termed the Kusāna dynasty In the inscriptions of the years 122 and 136, the name occurs as the personal appellation of a ruler whose identity is not revealed.

Baron A Von Stael-Holstein, however, accepts the name Kuisa (Kusa) given in the *Sūtralamkara* as the original and true name of the dynasty, and thinks that the word Kusāna is the genitive plural of "Kusa" which he considers to be identical with the Chinese "Yue-Chi [40] According to this version, "Kusana(m) putr(o)" would mean "son or scion of the Kusas' If we accept his interpretation, it is difficult to explain the formation of the word "Khuśanasa' found in the Taxila Silver Scroll inscription of the year 136[41] and of the word "Kusanasa' found in the Kharoshthī legends on some coins of Kujula Kadphises [42] He however, argues that those words stand for "Kusana sa' i e "shah or king of the Kusas".[43] He is evidently mistaken in identifying "sa" with "sa", as the inscription is written in a language which consistently makes a distinction between "s" and "s" and in a script which has a separate sign for "s" Moreover, 'Kusa" cannot be considered equivalent to "Yue-chi" or "Kusi", as the Chinese were familiar with both the words, Koei choang (Kusana) and Yue chi, and designated the Kusanas as Yue-chi, not Kuśi [44]

Konow supports the theory of Baron Von Stael-Holstein, and thinks that the word Kusana is an adjective formed with the suffix "ana" from a base beginning with a guttural which may have been fricative and containing a "s" or "rs", and that the short base is contained in the genitive plural "Kosano" occurring in the coin legends of Kaniska and his successors [45] This etymological derivation is far-fetched and unwarranted, it is more legitimate to regard ' Kusa" as an abbreviation of "Kusāna" which is the real name of the dynasty, because the latter closely corresponds with its Chinese version ' Koei-choang' and is found used in slightly different forms in various languages in this connection [46]

CONCLUSION ABOUT THE NOMENCLATURE

We, thus, arrive at the following conclusions —

1 The correct name of the dynasty which was founded by Kujula Kadphises is Kusana, and not Kuisa, Kusa or Kusi

2 The word Kusana was originally used to indicate a small principality in Tahia but was later on associated with the name of its ruler, his large kingdom, his clan or tribe, his dynasty and the personal appellation or name of the rulers of the dynasty

3 The Chinese continued to call the Kusānas by their old name "Ta Yue-chi" or "the Great Yue-chi", even after the new designation had come into vogue

B Their Nationality

DIFFERENT VIEWS ABOUT THEIR NATIONALITY

The nationality of the Kusanas has been, for a long time, a controversial subject, they have been called Turk, Iranian or Tibetan on the grounds of their physical features, their dress, their language and their past history

(a) Theories about Turkish Nationality

Kalhana speaks of Kaniska and other members of his dynasty as Turuskas i e Turks [47] Alberuni regards him as a descendant of the Turki family called Shahiya said to be of Tibetan extraction He describes the first of them, Barhatatkin, as wearing Turkish dress, viz a short tunic, open in front, a high hat, boots and arms [48] Kennedy finds proofs of their Turkish nationality not only in their dress but also in their physical traits, and talks of Kaniska's features as typical of his race "Kanishka calls himself a Kushan His coins represent him as a powerfully built barbarian king, clad in the loose coat and huge boots which were the common dress of Turkestan The Tochari belonged to the great Turki family, and Kanishka's features are characteristic of his race, he has the pointed cranium, the salient cheek bones, the large, long and heavy nose, the thick beard' [49] Bhandarkar points to the coins of Kadphises and Kaniska in which the king's effigy is similarly dressed [50] Wilson is also of the same opinion "He wears a conical cap, turned up at the sides, a tunic close to the body over which is a sort of strait coat: boots are invariably worn The features are not those of the Mongol but of the Turk' [51] Levi refers to the passage in Hemachandra's Abhidhana-Chintamani 959 that the Turks were Śakhas (Turushkas tu Sākhayah syuh), and explains that the Kusānas were Śakhi or Turks, as they used the royal title Śakhi which he takes to be equivalent to the word Shāhi in their inscriptions [52] Hirth identifies the title Yavuga used by Kujula Kadphises with Turki Jabgu,[53] and Hultzsch compares the designation Kujula with Turki Gujlu (Strong) [54] The monk Ou kong mentions the use of Turkish court titles by the king of Gandhāra and Kabul, his relatives and state officers about 753 A D, and he

considers them to have descended from the ancient royal family of Kaniṣka [55]

(b) Theories about Iranian Nationality

Konow refutes these arguments, and considers that the Kusanas were Iranian in origin He quotes Joyce to show that the large nose and the other features in their likenesses are characteristic of the so-called Homo-Alpinus which is stated to be largely represented in the population of Chinese Turkestan (modern Sinkiang) "A white-rosy race, very brachycephalic, stature above the average , with their prominent nose, varying from aquiline to straight, long oval face, hair brown, usually dark, always abundant and curly , eyes medium in the main The majority of the peoples surrounding the Taklamakan desert have a very large common element seen in the purest form in Wakhi The fact that the Wakhi display so close a relationship with the Galcha proves that the basis of the Taklamakan population is Iranian" He asserts that the supposed Turki origin of the title and designation ' Yavuga" and "Kujula" can only be treated as more than doubtful, that these words were actually used by the old Śakas and that "several terms and designations employed by the Kusanas find their explanation in an Iranian language which was once spoken and used in literature in parts of Turkestan and only in it ' He calls it the Śaka language, and claims that "Marjhaka" stands for the Śaka word "Malysaka" and ' Shao" (=Shau) is a Śaka word for "King' [56] Pelliot called this language East Iranian [57] Grousset also thinks that the physical appearance of the people of Tarim basin is very similar to the Iranian variety of Caucasian. He cites Fernand Grenard who describes them as having ' abundant dark hair and beards, fair rosy cheeks, when they are not tanned by the sun and air, long oval faces with fine, prominent and often straight noses, and brown eyes which are not slanting" He states that the Chinese travellers of antiquity and the early Middle Ages have left similar pictures about them As regards language, he finds confirmation of the ethnographical evidence in the results yielded by excavations which show that "up to the 9th century A D the people of Turfan, Karashahr Kucha and Kashgar spoke not Turkish but purely Indo-European languages closely related to Iranian, Sanskrit and other European languages "[58]

(c) *Theory about Tibetan Extraction*

McCrindle considers the Yue chi horde to be of Tibetan extraction [59]

Jayaswal calls them tyrannical foreign rulers in India who had their capital in Bactria and who aimed at denationalizing the Hindus [60]

But these statements do not give a true picture of the nationality of the Kusanas, they make no distinction between the terms 'race" and 'nationality', and they do not take into consideration the times during which the Kusānas lived As regards their race, it is not possible to make any definite assertion about it by examining their skull shapes or their language, as they are not good criteria for this purpose A linguistically homogeneous group cannot be regarded as anthropologically uniform, and we have not sufficient data of the contemporary period for the examination of their skull-shapes [61] All that we can say with certainty about their race is that they belonged to the Great Yue-chi horde who had settled in Bactria in the 2nd century B C after migrating from their original homelands in the modern Kansu province of China,[62] but that they did not have Mongolian features, as is quite evident from the portraits of their kings found on their coins [63]

THEIR TRUE NATIONALITY

As regards their nationality, it is an anachronism to designate them as Turks, because they existed long before the word 'Turk" began to be used The Arab historians made a similar mistake when they applied this term to the Ephthalites [64] The fact is that the Turks made their appearance in the country which was regarded as the homeland of the Kusanas and gave a new name "Turkestan' to it at a later stage, and consequently later writers identified the Kusanas with the Turks as they were the inhabitants of "Turkestan'

The Kusānas cannot be called Iranian or Tibetan, as they never regarded Iran or Tibet as their homeland

The most appropriate name for their nationality is the word "Kusana" itself, as their original kingdom was called by that very name There can be, therefore no doubt about the nationality of the first two Kusana rulers, Kujula Kadphises and Wema Kadphises, as they were intimately connected with their kingdom in Bactria But with the extension of their power in India, they were gradually

Indianized The result was that the last great early Kusana ruler, Vasudeva, even though calling himself a Kusana, had become practically an Indian, because he bore an Indian name and had an Indian god, Śiva, as his favourite deity

FOOT-NOTES

1 The Kharoshthi script was, during the rule of the early Kuśana kings, largely used in the territories now included in West Pakistan and Afghanistan (See Appendix I, Part A, Nos 1 to 3, Part B, Nos 13, 18 19, 23, 40, 52, 55, 77) It had also been employed by Asoka in his Mansehra and Shahbazgarhi inscriptions It survived in Central Asia up to the 4th century A D It was written from the right to the left, and long vowels were not marked in it (*JRAS*, 1920, First Half, pp 193-219, IP, pp 51-56)

2 ' Maharajasa Kaneshkasa Gushanavasasamvardhaka Lala"—
CII Vol II Pt I pp 145 50, No LXXVI, Plate XXVII, I,
JRAS, *1909*, *p 666*,
Ibid, 1914, pp 645 46,
IA, Vol X, 1881, p 215
The inscription was found by Gen Court in 1834 in his excavation of a small stupa in Manikiala (Manikyala) which is a village and group of ruins in the Rawalpindi District (now in West Pakistan)

3 ' Maharayasa Gushanasa Raja(mi)"—
CII Vol II, Pt I, p 70,
EI Vol XIV, p 134
Panjtar is situated on the Indus on the border of the Peshawar and the Hazara Districts in West Pakistan

4 "Maharajasa Rajatirajasa Devaputrasa Khushanasa arogadachhinae"—
CII, Vol II, Pt I, p 77,
EI, Vol XIV, pp 285 95,
GT pp 52 53
The inscription was found on a silver vase in the ruins of the Dharmarajika stupa in Taxila which is situated twenty miles north west of Rawalpindi (now in West Pakistan)

5. ' Kujula Kasasa Kushana Yavugasa dhramathidasa' —
CBM, p 120, Pl XXV, 1 (The correct initial sound of the name is given here)
"Khushanasa Yauasa Kuyula Kaphsasa '—
CBM, p 123, Pl XXV, 5

6 "Kushanasena"—
KI, No 5, p 2, No 136, p 54,
No 193, p 76, No 198, p 77;
No 320, p 116, No 399, p 143,
No 401, p 144, No 478, p 172,
AK, pp 386, 393, 396, 398, 405, 411-12
The word "Kushana" is used here as a part of the name "Kushanasena"

7 "Kurshanasa' —
KI, No 117, p 46,
AK, p 392

8 *CBM*, p 130, Pl XXVI, 6,
Ibid, p 138, Pl XXVIII, 16,
EHI, Pl XII, 9,
JNSI, Vol VIII, p 60 The Greek letter "P" represents the sound "s"

9 *CCIM*, p 64

10. *Ibid*, p 66 Pl XI, 2

11 *CBM*, p 123, Pl XXV, 5;
CCIM, p 66
All the coins of the early Kusana kings bear legends in Greek script, some of them have legends in Kharoshthī also

12 The Brāhmi script was used in all parts of the Kushāna empire in India excepting the north-west Most of Asoka's inscriptions are also written in the same script The modern Devanagari script has been evolved from it

13 *ASIR*, Vol XI, 1911-12 pp 120ff, Pl 53;
EI, Vol XXI, p 59,
JRAS, 1914, p 370

14 Hormizd II ruled over Persia from 302 A D to 309 A D

15 The Sassanian dynasty was founded by Ardashir I in Persia in 226 A D, its kings continued to rule upto 651 A D

16 *CII*, Vol II, Pt I, p xlix,
EHI, p 251, f n

17. *SSLK*, p 40, Pl IV, 2

18. *HHC*, translated by Specht, JA, July-December, 1883, p 324 ,
IA, 1903, p 417 ,
TP, Serie II, Vol VII, 1907, pp 193-94;
IA, 1917, p 261.

19. *CII*, Vol II, Pt I, p. xlix

20. The Han dynasty ruled in China from 206 B C to 220 A D.

21. See Map I

22 "They (the people of Tahia) have five principalities, each under one Hei-hou (chieftain), Hieou-mi with the capital Ho-mo, *Shuang mi with the capital Shuang mi* Kouei shuang (Kushāna) with the capital Hu-tsao, Hi-touen with the capital Po mao, and Kaofu with the capital Kaofu These five Hei hous (chieftains) are all dependent on the TaYue chi" ,
THC, Chap 96 a, fol. 15 r ;
JA, VIII, *n*, 1883, *p* 323 ,
JAI, Vol X, 1881, pp 20 73
CII Vol II, Pt I, p lvi ;
JAOS, 1941, p 243.

23 "When the Yue-chi were conquered by the Hiung-nu, they went among the Tahia, divided the kingdom into five principalities, which were Hieou mi, Choang-mo, Koei-choang (Kuṣana), Hi tun, Tou mi" ,
HHC, Chap 118, translated by Specht in *JA*, 1883, p 324 ,
IA, 1903, p 417 ;
IA, 1917, p 261 ;
JAOS, 1941 p 243

24 The Chinese in the Han empire

25 *HHC*, Chap 118, see above.

26 In the Greek legends on some of his coins he assumes the title Koshano the Kusana" (*CBM*, p 122, Pl. XXV, 3-4)

27 The Armenians gave the name Kusān to the country north of the Paropamisus and the Elburz ranges as far almost as the Caspian Margiane was included in it (Ammianus Marcellinus-History, Bk XXIII, 6 cf JRAS, 1912, p 676 note)

28 *CCIM*, p 66 Pl XI, 2

29 *Ibid* , p 70, No 2, Pl XI, 8

30 *CBM*, p. 144, No 71, Pl XXVIII, 7

31. *Ibid*, p 159, No 1, Pl XXIX, 8

32 *JRAS*, 1906, p 203

33 *JBORS*, Vol VI, pp 12-22

34 They translate "Kuei-shuang" as the name of a principality or kingdom and of a sept of the Yue chi who had settled in that kingdom Consequently, "Kuei-shuang wang" should be rendered as 'the king of the Kusāna (kingdom)" and not "King Kusana' See p 2

35 "In the dynasty of the Kiu-sha, there was a king Tchen tan Kia ni-tcha kia (Kaniska)"—
SA, Chap 6, IA, Vol, XXXII, 1903, p 385
The Chinese translation was made about 405 A D

36 *KML*, p 67

37. "Trained by monks and born in the Kusa (?) race, you should not defile the name of your family whose ancestors are descended from the noble line of the Sun"—*MK*, V, 49,
JPASB 1910, p. 479,
IA, 1903, p 356

38 Thomas reads the name as "Kusa' (*IA* 1903, p 356); while Vidyabhushana reads it as "Kusana' (*JPASB*, 1910, p 479)

39 *JPASB*, 1910, p 479

40 *JRAS*, 1914, pp 79 88,
SBAW, 1914, pp 643 ff

41 See p 1, f n 4 It is ridiculous to use two genitive suffixes "sa' and 'āna" in one place, the word cannot mean " of of the Kushas"

42 *CCIM*, p 66, Pl XI, 2.

43 *JRAS*, 1914 pp 79-88,
SBAW, 1914, pp 643 ff

44 See p 2

45 *CII* Vol II, Pt I, p xlix

46 See pp 1 2

47. Turushkānvayodbhūta (belonging to the family or dynasty of Turushka)—*RT*, Vol I, 170

48 *THA*, 207-208 ,
AIS, Vol II, pp 10 12
Barha tatkın meaning Great Chief (Barha, a corruption of Sanskrt Brhat or Great+tatkın or Tegin, meaning 'chief' in Turkish) is the same as Kadphises or Kad (Chief in Pehlavi)+ Pises or Sanskrt Peśa or Zend Paesa or Great
c f *JRAS*, 1913, p 632

49 *JRAS*, 1912, p 670

50 *IA*, 1908, p 41

51 *AA*, p 349

52 *EI*, Vol I, p 391 ,
EI, Vol XXI, pp 55 61 ,
CII, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. li

53 *Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonjukuk*, p 48 ;
CII, Vol II Pt. I, p l

54 *ZDMG*, 1915, p. 176 ,
CII, Vol II, Pt. I, p l

55 *IA*, 1905, p. 86

56 *CII*, Vol II, Pt I, pp l, li

57 *SBAW*, 1913, pp 406 ff, 1919, pp. 734 ff

58 *RSCE*, pp 70-71

59 *AIP*, p 138.

60 *HIJ*. pp 41-54

61 A N Zelinsky and Y G Rychkov consider it difficult to speak of the ethnic anthropology of the Kusanas on account of the non availability of sufficient reliable data But the testimony provided by the coins minted by them and an analysis of some materials published on the Khalchayan excavations lead us to the conclusion that the Yue chi brought from Central Asia to the region of Bactria and Badakhshan an anthropological type related to a wide range of North Europeoid forms , but in the type of the Kusāna proper, there was a gradual intensification of the influence of the Pamir elements, characterised by a prominent nose (*KSIU*, pp 178-79)

According to V V Ginzburg, the anthropological materials found in Central Asia corroborate the point of view whereby the Kuśana kingdom is regarded as a conglomeration of different peoples headed by the representatives of the Yue chi confede-

racy of tribes passing on to the settled mode of life Ethnoculturally, these tribes were peculiar in their tradition of burying the dead in tombs of catacomb or cutting (podboi) types and their practice of artificial deformation of the head with a view to impart to the skull a more high elongated shape Head deformation is clearly visible on many images of Kusana kings on coins which is in agreement with the data testifying to their nomadic descent, as the ancient local settled population did not practise on a mass scale head deformation nor did *it* have burials of the catacomb—cutting type (V V Ginsburg, *KSIU*, p 143)

V Y. Zezenkova is of the opinion that craniological materials of the Kusāna period, even though they are scarce, make it possible with a high degree of probability to relegate the basic population to the great Europeoid race (*KSIU*, pp 150 51)

62 *SK*, Chap 123, fol 4 ;
CII, Vol II, Pt I, p liii ,
IHQ, 1929, p 51

63 See photographs

64 *ESM*, p 239, note 6 ,
JAOS, 1943, pp 195 96

2

THE KUŚANAS—VICISSITUDES OF THEIR PARENT STOCK AND THEIR ORIGIN

THEIR PARENT STOCK—THE TA YUE CHI

The Kusanas were a branch of the powerful Ta Yue chi or the Great Yue chi who had settled in Tan a (Bactria) after m grating from their original hab tation beyond the north western frontiers of Ch na It is essential to follow the m gration and vicissitudes of the no nadic horde in order to understand the origin of the Kusanas their old homeland and the vexed problem of their chronology

CHIEF CHINESE SOURCES FOR THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE YUE CHI

The ch ef Ch nese sources wh ch throw l ght on these obscure topics are the following

1 Sse ki or Shi ki (Historical Records) compiled by Ssu ma ch en (or Se ma Tsien)[1]
2 Tsien Han Chou (History of the First Han Dynasty)[2]
3 Heou Han Chou (History of the Later Han Dynasty)[3]
4 Wen hsien tung kao (Encyclopaed a) written by Ma twan lin in the 13th century[4]

THEIR ORIGINAL HABITATION AND WAR WITH THE HIUNG NU

According to the memoirs of Chang kien as recorded in the Sse ki the Great Yue chi orig nally lived between Tun hwang and Ki lien[5] The Shi ki cheng i quotes authority to show that the old country of the Yue chi comprised Liang chou (modern Wuwei) Kan chou (modern Chang yeh) Su chou (modern Chiu chuan) Kua chou

and Sha chou[6] in the Kansu Province of China[7] With their flocks they moved hither and thither over the vast tracts like their neighbours, the hordes of the Hiung nu[8], the Hunas of the later days[9] Originally they were strong and esteemed the Hiung nu of small account[10] But when Mao tun, the Hiung-nu chief, mounted the throne, he attacked the Yue-chi, defeated them and informed the Chinese Emperor of his victory in a letter in 176 B C[11]

Later on, Shen-yu Lau-shang[12] again vanquished them, killed their king, took his skull and made it into a drinking bowl[13] Lau-shang ruled from 174 B C, to 160 B C and the date of this crushing defeat of the Yue chi has been rightly accepted as about 165 B C by most scholars[14]

THEIR DEFEAT AND MIGRATION TO TAHIA

After the Yue-chi had been thoroughly defeated, they sought safety in flight. The Sse ki gives some account of their migration, but does not make any mention of their fight with the Wu sun and the Śakas, it only observes "When they were attacked by the Hiung nu, they went far away and over in the west, beat the Tahia[15] and overthrew them After that they established their capital to the north of the Wei (Amu) river and built a princely court there"[16] The memoirs of Chang-kien[17] as given in the Tsien Han Chou, however, give more details

> "They invaded the country of their neighbours, the Wu-sun (Ou suenn) in the valley of the Ili river, and killed the Wu sun king, Nan-teou-mi They proceeded further to the west, and attacked the king of the Se, who fled a long way to the south, abandoning the territories to the north of the Jaxartes (Syr Darya) to the Yue-chi The son of Nan teou-mi, Koenn mouo (Kwen mo) was brought up by the king of the Hiung nu When he grew up, he felt himself strong enough to ask permission of the Hiung-nu chief to avenge his father's wrongs, moved westwards, and attacked and defeated the Yue chi. The Yue chi fled still further to the west to the valley of the Wei (Oxus or Amu Darya), overthrew Tahia and established their capital to the north of the river"[18]

Tahia had a large population, peace-loving and fond of commerce The Sse ki gives the following account of the country:

"Tahia lay about 2000 li[19] south-west of Tawan (Fergana) and

> to the south of the Wei (Amu) river The cities and houses found in the land of these people are like those of Tawan The people possess no over lord Each city deposes and sets up petty chiefs separately The soldiers are feeble afraid to fight but good at commerce Therefore when the Great Yue chi migrated to the west, they attacked and completely subjugated the Tahia The people of Tahia were numerous they amount to more than 100 thousand Their capital is the fort of Lan si There are market streets where men negotiate all things South east lies the kingdom of Sin tuh [20]

The description of Tahia given in the Sse ki is confirmed by the Tsien Han Chou

> 'The Yue chi went very far away, passed beyond Tawan (Fergana) fought the Tahia in the west and subdued them Their chief then fixed their capital to the north of the Wei (Amu) river The Tahia had no sovereign each city (ville) each small town (bourgade) was governed by its chief The people were weak and afraid of war When the Yue chi arrived they submitted to them [21]

It is quite obvious that Tahia included territories on the north as well as the south of the Amu river it comprised the former Indo Greek kingdom of Bactria which had been enfeebled by the attacks of the Parthian king Mithradates I (171 B C —138 B C) [22] It may be said to have covered Sogdiana Bactriane[23] and Margiane[24] (or the modern Tajikistan Uzbekistan East Turkmenistan and North Afghanistan) [25] It was bounded on the west by A si or the kingdom of the Arsacidae and on the south east by Kipin [26] At this time the Yue chi numbered a hundred thousand families and a hundred thousand was the number of their warriors [27]

Rapson thinks that the Śakas had occupied Tahia in 135 B C before the advent of the Yue chi,[28] and he arrives at the conclusion on the evidence of the Chinese encyclopaedist Ma twan lin

> In ancient times the Hiung nu defeated the Yue chi, the latter went to dwell in Tahia and the king of the Sai (Śakas) went southward to live in Kipin The tribes of the Sai divided and dispersed so as to form here and there different kingdoms [29]

The faulty extract seems to indicate that the Śakas were driven out of Tahia by the Yue chi But this account is misleading If

Tahia had been under the occupation of the Śakas the Chinese works the Sse ki and the Tsien Han Chou would have surely mentioned this fact and would not have called the people of Tahia weak and cowardly Strabo also refers to the occupation of Bactria by the Śakas but that event relates to a much earlier period [30]

A branch of the Yue chi had not joined the expedition towards Tahia [31] They were small in number and had taken refuge with the Kiang on the southern mountains They were called the Little Yue chi in order to distinguish them from the conquerors of Tahia who are usually called the Ta Yue chi Some of these Little Yue chi returned to their old habitation in Kanchou [32]

DATE OF THEIR CONQUEST OF TAHIA

An idea of the approximate date of the Yue chi conquest of Tahia can be gleaned from the following facts —

1 Chang kien was deputed in 138 B C by the Chinese emperor Ou ti (140 B C —86 B C), to the Yue chi to negotiate with them to bring them back to help the Chinese against the Hiung nu He was taken prisoner by the Hiung nu and was detained by them for ten years But he was able to escape to Tawan (Fergana) whence he was escorted to Kang ku (Sogdiana) and was taken to the Yue chi whom he found settled in their new country (Tahia) [33] He was unsuccessful in his mission, and after a stay of more than one year he went back to China in 126 B C His account is the chief source from which the Chinese got information about the Yue chi in this period According to him Tahia lay to the south of the Wei river and the Yue chi had completely subjugated it [34] The submission of Tahia was thus an accomplished fact by the time of his return journey i e 126 B C

2 The Tsien Han Chou contains the information that the king of the Wu sun had an old grudge against the Yue chi that he attacked them and drove them out of the Sai wong, and that happened just at the time when Shen yu i e Mao tun's successor (174 B C —160 B C) died [35] This statement led Fujita Toyohashi and Sten Konow to think that the Yue-chi conquered Tahia in 160 B C [36] But this interpretation cannot be accepted, as the Wu sun prince who was an orphan from the cradle[3] and whose father s death had taken place about 160

B C must have taken some years (about twenty years) to grow up and become strong enough to defeat the Yue chi.[38] The Yue chi must have, therefore, been driven to Tahia about 140 B C, and they must have taken some years to occupy and completely master the whole of the country including the territories south of the Amu river, so that the consolidation of their power in their new homelands must have been achieved by 126 B C

3 Tarn has shown clearly that Heliocles, the last Greek king of Bactria, was defeated by Mithradates I in *141 B C.*[39] The Yue chi must have conquered the country after his dethronement, as the Tahia had no overlord at that time [40] Its complete subjugation was, therefore, achieved after 141 B C and before 126 B C

Specht proposes arbitrarily to put the Yue-chi conquest of Tahia after 24 A D,[41] because he thinks that the Tsien Han Chou makes no mention of it But his assertion is baseless; the Tsien Han Chou does mention the conquest,[42] though not in complete details, as the accounts of foreign peoples incorporated in the annals did not pretend to trace a complete history of them.

DIVISION OF TAHIA INTO FIVE PRINCIPALITIES

After subjugating the whole of Tahia the Yue-chi divided it into five principalities Hieou mi, Shuang-mi, Koei-shuang (Kuṣāna), Hi-touen and Tou mi Their names are mentioned in the Heou Han Chou by Fan Ye[43] who corrects the account of the division given earlier in the Tsien Han Chou by Pan ku[44] who had included Kaofu (not Tou mi) as one of the Yue chi principalities Pan-ku was mistaken in this respect as according to Fan-Ye,[45] it is only when the Yue-chi had triumphed over A si (Parthia) that they took Kaofu for the first time

Marquart has identified Hieou-mi with the present Wakhan, Shuang-mi with Chitral, Kuei-shuang (Kuṣāna) with the country immediately to the north of Gandhara or with Gandhāra itself, Hi-touen with Parwan or the Panjshir and Kaofu with Kabul [46] But his views are not justified If we accept his identifications, the Yue-chi principalities would be placed outside Tahia,[47] while, according to Fan Ye, they were definitely carved out of Tahia and the conquest of Kaofu was accomplished at a later stage [48] Moreover, Tahia had a

large population [49] but this cannot b. true of the barren Wakhan, Chitral or the Panjshir

The division of Tahia into five principalities was made by the Yue chi not very long after they had gained complete mastery over it, as is quite obvious from the passage which occurs in the Heou Han Chou 'When the Yue chi were conquered by the Hiung-nu they went among the Tahia (and) divided the kingdom into five principalities [50] But the memoirs of Chang kien as recorded in the Sse-ki do not make any mention of this event, so the partition of Tahia appears to have taken place shortly after the departure of Chang kien, i e shortly after 126 B C

KUSĀNA KINGDOM AND THE KUSĀNAS

About a hundred years afterwards, Kujula Kadphises, the chief of the Koei shuang principality, conquered the other four principalities and constituted himself king of a kingdom which was also called the Kusana kingdom [51] He identified himself with its name, and the Yue chi of his principality also came to be known by the same name even though the Han continued to call them by their old appellation [52] He was, therefore, the first king of the Kusanas who had their origin from their parent-stock in Tahia

FOOT NOTES

1 See Bibliography—Chinese Sources, under Ssu ma chien.

2 *Ibid* under Pan ku

3 *Ibid* under Fan Ye

4 *Ibid* under Ma twan lin

5 *SK* Chap 123 fol 4
CSM 1901 p 201
CII, Vol II Pt I p liii
THC Chap 96 a
JAI Vol X 1881, p 41
Ki lien or Chi lien mountain (meaning "Heavenly mountain") is situated in Kansu
(*PC* dated 16 1 57 p 37)
See Map I

6 *CII* Vol II Pt I p liii

7 See Map I
The name Kansu is derived from the syllables 'Kan and 'Su', the first parts of the names of the cities Kanchou and Suchou found in it, chou meaning prefectural city in Chinese, *PC*, dated 16 1 57, p 37),

8 *SK*, Chap 123, fol 4,
IA, 1905, p 75

9 *IA*, 1919, p 70

10 *SK* Chap 123, fol 4, Chap 110 fol 6 V,
ESM, pp 201 ff,
SBAW 1918 p 571,
CII, Vol II, Pt, I, p liii

11 The letter contained the following account of the defeat of the Yue chi
'Lately I despatched an envoy but he has not returned nor have I received any communication, while some of the lower officials have committed breaches of the agreement and attacking the Right Yen Wang have forced him into the Western Regions where he was attacked by the Yue chi Heaven however, was propitious to your arms, our forces were well formed our cavalry brave and powerful, and in the end we totally defeated the Yue chi, carrying fire and sword through the land and pacifying the country up to Leolan"—SK, Chap 110
JCBRAS, 1906, pp 40 41

12 The Hiung nu chief

13 *SK*, Chap 123, fol 4,
THC, Chap 96 a,
JAI Vol X, 1881, p 41,
IHQ, 1929, p 51

14 *M* Chavannes translation of *SK* Tome I, Introduction pp lxx ff,
IHQ 1929, p 5?
POES p 185,
EHI p 248
IA 1903 p 419

15 The word 'Tahia' was used to indicate both the country and its inhabitants

16 *SK* Chap 123 fol 4
ESM pp 200 ff,
IHQ, 1922 p 51

17 Chang-kien was deputed in 138 B C by the Chinese emperor, Ou-ti (140 B C —86 B C), to negotiate with the Yue chi

18 *THC* Book 61 , ESM, pp 200ff ,
JRAS N S , 1882, p 82 ,
IA, 1905, pp 75 76 ,
IA 1908, pp 25-26

19 375 miles (1 li=3/16 miles *OYCT*, Vol II, p 337)
This account of Tahia is based on the report of Chang-kien.

20 *THC*, Bk 61 ,
ESM pp 200 ff
Sin tuh means India

21 *THC*, Bk 61, passage transl by Specht in
JA, 1883, p 322 ,
IA, 1903, p 418

22 *CHI*, Vol I p 700

23 The above-mentioned Chinese accounts place Tahia south west of Tawan (Fregana) and on both sides of the Amu river, making it correspond roughly to Sogdiana and Bactriane mentioned by Ptolemy (*AIP*, pp 267-83)

24 Ptolemy describes Dahae or Daae who may be identified with the Tahia people residing in Margiane (*AIP*, pp 263-66)

25 See Map I

Tahia remained under the control of the Kusānas for a long period It is, therefore, not surprising that many Kusana inscriptions have recently been unearthed in Tajikistan (*NMAT*, 1957, pp 143 44) and North Afghanistan (*JA*, 1952, pp 433 53 , 1954, 161-205 , 1955, 269-79) See also Appendix IV and Appendix V

26 According to the Tsien Han Chou, the kingdom of Kipin touched the Yue chi kingdom on the north west (*THC*, Chap. 96 , *JAOS*, 1941, p 242).

27 *THC*, vide IA, 1905, p 76

28 *CHI*, Vol 1, p 566

29 *ESM*, p 205

30 *GBI*, 1938, p 283

31 *SK*, vide CII, Vol II Pt. I, p lv

32 *BF*, pp 9, 27 ,
CII, Vol II, Pt I, p lv
Baron A Von Stael-Holstein thinks that Kaniska belonged to the Little Yue chi, but he is mistaken in his views (see Chapter on Kaniska)

33 *THC*, Book 61 ,
JAI, Vol X, *1881*, pp *60 ff*,
CII, p liv ,
IA 1903, p 418 , 1905, p 76

34 *THC*, Book 61

35 *JRAS*, 1932, p 958 ,
CII Vol II, Pt I, pp liii, liv

36, *Ibid*

37 *THC*, Book 61 ,
IA 1903, p *419*

38 *THC*, Book 61

39 *GBI*, pp 271 73

40 *THC* Book 61

41 *JA* 1883, p 324

42 *THC*, 16

43 *HHC*, Chap 118 ,
See Chap I

44 *THC* Chap 96a, fol 15r ,
See Chap I

45 See Chap I

46 *ESM, pp 242 ff*

47 Tahia lay south west of Fergana See Map I.

48 See Map I

49 *THC* Book 61 , SK, Chap 123, f 1 4

50 *HHC*, Chap 118
See Chap I

51 *HHC* Chap 118,
Chap I

52 *Ibid*

3

KUJULA KADPHISES

DIFFERENT FORMS OF THE NAME

Kujula Kadphises was known to the Chinese as Kieu tsieu-kio or Kieu-tsieu khio,[1] and his name appears in the forms Kozoulo Kadphises[2] and Kozola Kadaphes[3] in the Greek script on the obverse of his coins and in the forms Kujula Kasa,[4] Kujula Kau,[5] Kuyula Kaphsa[6] Kuyula Kadapha,[7] Kujula Kara Kaphsa[8] and Kujula Kara Kapsa[9] in the Kharoshthī script on the reverse of his coins. Rapson considers Kujula Kara Kadphises to be different from Kujula Kadphises and states that he seems to have succeeded the satrap Zeionises in the kingdom of Puskalavati and that he may have been contemporary with Wema Kadphises,[10] but he does not advance any solid reasons in support of his proposition The high imperial titles "Maharajasa rayarajasa" used by him[11] preclude the possibility of his being merely a subordinate ruler We also cannot regard him as a successor of Kujula Kadphises, as we learn from Chinese evidence that Kujula Kadphises was succeeded by Wema Kadphises,[12] and not by Kujula Kara Kadphises or Kujula Kadaphes Moreover, a Sirkap coin of Kujula Kadphises showing the bust of Hermaeus on the obverse seems to have the Kharoshthī legend " jula Kara Dhramathi ",[13] and numismatic evidence reveals the fact that the legend "Dhramathidasa" was borne by Kujula Kadphises[14] Alberuni calls him Barha tatkin[15]

HIS CONQUESTS

(*a*) Tahia

According to the Heou Han Chou, Kujula Kadphises was the chief of the Kusana principality in Tahia[16] he attacked and subdued the other four principalities in that country, and constituted himself

king of a kingdom which was called the Kusāna kingdom [17] He was thus, the founder of the first Kusāna kingdom which included Sogdiana, Bactriane and East Margiane (or the modern Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, East Turkmenistan and North Afghanistan) [18]

The exact date of his conquest of the other principalities in Tahia is uncertain but Fan Ye states that when the Yue chi were conquered by the Hiung-nu, they went among the Tahia divided the kingdom into five principalities, and, about a hundred years after wards Kujula Kadphises attacked and subdued the other four principalities [19] Specht[20] and Smith[21] think that the division of Tahia into five principalities took place long after its conquest and "one hundred years afterwards should be counted from the date of the division of *Tahia and not from that of its conquest But Fan Ye s statement* shows that the interval between these two events was not very great, and the division of Tahia must have taken place shortly after 126 B C He therefore attacked the other principalities in Tahia after 26 B C and before 2 B C (about 10 B C) as the Wei lio mentions a Yue chi king (not a chief) reigning in 2 B C [22] which means that Kujula Kadphises had consolidated his power in the whole of Tahia by that date

His further career of conquests is described as follows by Fan Ye

> "He invaded the country of A si seized upon the territory of Kaofu, destroyed also Pota and Kipin and became completely master of these countries Kieou tsieou-kio died at eighty years' [23]

It is difficult to determine the exact boundaries of those territories and the dates of their conquests, but we can form an approximate idea about them, if we consider these questions in the light of the old accounts left by the Chinese and Greek writers and the numismatic and archaeological evidence

(b) A si

A si (An hsi or Ngansi) It was known as the country of the Arsacide from the name of the founder, Arsaces It was also called Parthia, and was originally situated on the south east of the Caspian Sea The Parthians had greatly extended their power, and towards the close of the first century B C the Parthian empire extended from the Euphrates to Arachosia[24] and from the Oxus to the Indian Ocean *with Hermaeus a descendant of the Greek dynasty of Eucratides*

ruling over Central and Southern Afghanistan The Parthians were often at war with Rome over the question of Armenia Their empire was governed by viceroys, some of whom were very powerful and had assumed royal titles. It was weakened by wars of succession, and one of its kings, Phraataces, concluded a treaty with Rome in 1 A D, by which Parthia agreed to withdraw completely from the affairs of Armenia [25] The conquest of A-si by Kujula Kadphises took place about this period when he had finished his work of uniting all the Yue chi principalities in Tahia into a centralized power but the conquest could not imply the occupation of the whole of the Parthian empire, as it continued to exist till 226 A D [26]; it could only mean the subjugation of the original A-si territory adjoining Tahia

(*c*) Kaofu

It signified the Kabul Valley The word "Kaofu" is derived from the Sanskrit word "Kubha" which is the ancient name of the Kabul river [27] The Kabul river is also called "Koa" by Ptolemy,[28] "Kophes" by Strabo[29] and "Kophen" by Philostratos,[30] all resembling the word "Kaofu" Hermaeus was the last Greek ruler of Kaofu, and he was ruling there towards the close of the first century B C The fact that it was not under the control of the Parthian emperors at that time is made clear by the statement of Isidor of Charax who, while naming the Parthian stations, does not include it in the list of the eastern provinces of Parthia [31] But the discovery of a very large number of coins of Gondopharnes[32] at Begrām and other places in Afghanistan[33] suggests that it must have come under his control for some time But it did not remain in his possession for a very long period Its occupation by Kujula Kadphises who at first ruled as a subordinate ally of Hermaeus and later on independently is attested by the following series of coins

(i) Coins of Hermaeus alone[34];

(ii) Coins of Hermaeus associated with those of Kujula Kadphises[35] and

(iii) Coins of Kujula Kadphises alone [36]

It is quite evident that,

(1) Hermaeus was at first ruling alone in the Kabul valley

(2) Afterwards Kujula Kadphises was associated with Hermaeus in the government, but occupied a subordinate position as his name appears on the reverse in Kharoshṭhī script, while that of Hermaeus appears on the obverse in Greek script

(3) Later on, Kujula Kadphises ruled independently, and on some coins assumed high imperial titles But there was a short interval of Parthian rule of Gondopharnes who issued an extensive coinage of his own Whitehead also thinks that there was a joint rule of Hermaeus and Kujula Kadphises for some time "Coins of the Indo-Greek prince are known which bear on the Kharoshthī side the name of Kujulakasa When without any further alteration of type, we find that the name of the Kusana chief in the form of KOZOYLO KADPHIZES makes its appearance also on the Greek side of the coinage and the name of Hermaeus finally disappears, then it also becomes certain that Kadphises was the conqueror who subverted the Greek dominion in Kabul "[37] But Whitehead is mistaken in ignoring the Parthian occupation of Kabul

Gobind Pai examines the legends "Basileos steros-su Ermaiou" and ' Khoshan-sy Zaoou Kozola Kadaphes found on the coins of Kujula Kadphises and explains that "su" (or "sy') stands for "sy-zugou ', the genitive singular of ' sy-zugos meaning conjoint and implying the joint rule of Hermaeus and Kujula Kadphises [38] But his explanation is far fetched as the coins on which the legend "Khoshan sy zaoou Kozola Kadaphes ' is found portray the head of the king[39] closely resembling that of Augustus[40] and not that of Hermaeus [41] "Sy" is evidently a genitive suffix and "Zaoou is the genitive singular of "zaoos", the Graecized form of "Yavuga" meaning chief or king

Rapson once advocated that Hermaeus was associated with Kujula Kadphises in his government towards the end of his reign and that the coins showed clearly the process by which the Kabul valley passed from Hermaeus to his conqueror, Kujula Kadphises [42] Sten Konow too expressed similar views and stated that when Kujula Kadphises invaded Parthia Hermaeus entered into an alliance with him through which he tried to strengthen his position and make himself independent of the Parthian suzerain, but as the Kusana rule did not long leave him free to enjoy his independence he had to share the government with him and was soon entirely replaced by Kujula Kadphises [43] Later on, Rapson changed his views, and asserted that Kabul valley was under the control of the Parthians for some decades and that probably not until seventy years after the death of the last Yavana king, Hermaeus Kabul passed from the Pahlavas to the Kusānas [44] Konow also followed him in stating

that a coinage bearing his name and type was issued by his conquerors, Pahlavas and Kushanas, many years after his death[45] Altekar found corroboration of this statement in the discovery of the five new coins of Hermaeus Kujula type with divergent features of the king's bust[46]

But the separation of the reign of Kujula Kadphises from that of Hermaeus for a very long period presents great difficulties It is hard to explain why Kujula Kadphises should have reproduced the name of a foreign king (who had died seventy years earlier) on the side of honour (the obverse) of his coins while allowing himself to occupy a subordinate position on the reverse Moreover, Kujula Kadphises issued an extensive coinage of his own in imitation of the Roman denarii of Emperor Augustus , he had no need of imitating mechanically the coins of a defeated king many years after his death

As a matter of fact, the sequence of events seems to have been as follows —

(1) Hermaeus was ruling independently in the Kabul valley towards the close of the first centurey B C and in the beginning of the first century A D His silver coins of this period are of superior quality and are sound in epigrahy Some of them represent on the obverse the busts of the king (Hermaeus) and his queen (Calliope)[4]

(2) Hermaeus was defeated by Gondopharnes, the ruler of Arachosia, and sought shelter with Kujula Kadphises, the king of Tahia Gondopharnes issued an extensive coinage of his own The date of his accession to the throne is determined by the Takht-i Bahi inscription issued on Ist Baisakh, 103 of an unspecified era in the 26th year of his reign[48] It can only be interpreted according to the Vikrama era, and gives us 46 A D as the 26th year of his reign According to these calculations, Gondopharnes came to the throne in 20 21 A D , and conquered Kabul between 20 A D, and 46 A D Banerji[49] and Majumdar,[50] however, interpret the inscription in terms of the Śaka era giving the date 181 A D , but their interpretation goes against archaeological evidence, as the coins of Gondopharnes are found in a stratum which is far earlier than the strata in which the coins of Kaniska and his successors are found in Taxila[51] The fact that many coin specimens of

Hermaeus Kujula Kadphises and the joint issues are found in strata dating after Gondopharnes[52] should not occasion any surprise because the three kings were contemporaries and the reign of Gondopharnes preceded that of Kujula Kadphises in that area

(3) Kujula Kadphises who had already defeated Parthia attacked Kabul as an ally of Hermaeus and occupied it, but Gondopharnes continued to enjoy sovereign powers in other territories as late as 46 A D , as the Takht i Bahi inscription clearly shows It was a period of stress and turmoil for the Kabul kingdom the joint issue of coinage during these times in which Hermaeus is still allowed to occupy a position of honour on the obverse shows coarse workmanship and degraded style[53] But there is no justification for the theory put forward by Gobind Pai that Hermaeus the consort of Calliope was different from Hermaeus the colleague of Kujula Kadphises[54] After some time, Kujula Kadphises assumed a status of equality, and later on began to rule independently and issued coinage in imitation of the Roman denarii of Augustus[55]

Pan-ku mentions Kabul as an original Yue chi principality[56] If his statement had been correct, Kabul should have fallen to the Yue-chi before 24 A D as he describes events upto that period[57] But Pan ku's statement has been corrected by Fan Ye who mentions Tou mi in place of Kaofu as an original Yue chi principality,[58] and describes the conquest of Kaofu after his conquest of A si He must have, therefore, wrested Kabul from Gondopharnes after 20 A D[59]

We learn from Fan Ye that Kujula Kadphises died at the age of eighty[60] If Kujula Kadphises is assumed to have set upon his work of consolidating his power in Tahia about 10 B C at the age of twenty, he must have died about 50 A D His conquest of Kabul may, therefore be roughly placed at 30 A D as he conquered some other territories afterwards

(*d*) Pota or Pouta

Franke[61] and Marquart[62] locate it to the north of Arachosia,[63] while Chavannes takes it for Balkh[64] Virde St Martin identified it with Pathanka or Pukhtanka, the country of the Pathans[65] Chavannes is evidently mistaken in his conjecture, as the geographical position of Balkh clearly indicates that it was included in Tahia in

the dominions of Kujula Kadphises before his conquest of Kabul Po ta seems to be the same as the land of Pactyice mentioned by Herodotus[66] and represented by the ethnic designation Pakhtun or Pathan It indicated the territory south and east of Peshawar extending up to the Indus The territories north of Peshawar comprising western Gandhara seem to have been included in K pin

(c) Kipin

It is one of the most perplexing terms of the Chinese geography of North West India, it has been used to denote different territories at different periods In the Chinese treatises it is a term of vague and varying extens on and not the description of a particular country it has been applied in different works to Kashmir, Nagara Gandhara and Udyana In the Pien yi tien section of the Tu shu ts cheng and the Hai kuo chi K pin and Kashmir are treated as identical but Ou kong distinguishes Kipin from Kashmir he states that he came to the latter country after having visited Kipin[6] Sung yun who visited Gandhara in 520 A D treats Gandh ra and Kipin as adjoining countries[68]

Chavannes and Levi have propounded the views that from the period of the Han to that of the Northern Wei,[69] the name Chipin or (Kipin) applies only and always to Kashmir as they find it proved in the accounts of the Buddhist pilgrims that it is only in the Tang period[70] that the name is connected with Kapiśa (North Eastern Afghanistan) [1] The period referred to in the text being that of the Han dynasty, they take Kip n to mean Kashmir in this case Beal[7] and Tarn[73] identify Kip n with Kophene or Kabul while Smith considers that the Kapisa [4] signification would suit better in the context [5] Petech is however of the view that it corresponds roughly to Gandhara and West Punjab and that its conquest was the first conquest of the Kus nas in India proper [6]

If we consider the passage given in the Heou Han Chou critically where the conques of Kaofu or Kab il is also descr bed K pin cannot mean the Kabul area It can only denote Kashmir and is alluded to as Kap n by H euen Tsang Kashmir was famous for its gold and Pan ku g ves a long account of K pin stat ng that it had a gold and silver currency which circulated not only in Kipin but also in Woo yih shau li [5] The western part of Gandhara representing the territory north of Peshawar was also included in it

The eastern part of Gandhara was, however, a part of the kingdom of Taxila which was, as reported by Apollonius who visited it in about 43 44 A D , ruled by ' Phraotes" who was independent of the power of Bardanes, the Parthian king of Babylon [79] In the account of the travels of Apollonius, it is stated that "Phraotes" exercised control over the satrap east of the Indus, that he lived in a palace which was just like the house of any citizen of the better class, that he hated the Greeks and attributed his prejudices to the tales and falsehoods of Egyptian travellers, and that he subsidised barbarians to prevent them from themselves ravaging or allowing other barbarians to ravage his territories [80] It is quite evident that the Parthian king whom Apollonius called Phraotes was no other than Gondopharnes who assumed the title "apratihata" on his coins,[81] that he continued to exercise sovereign powers in the kingdom of Taxila even after Kujula Kadphises had ousted him from Kabul, that he then lived a simple life in an ordinary place at Taxila, that his hatred of the Greeks was in reality due to their alliance with Kujula Kadphises against him, and not to the reasons explained by him, and that he paid tribute to Kujula Kadphises in order to save his kingdom from the attacks of the Kusanas and other tribes These arguments find confirmation in the Takht-i-Bahi inscription of the year 103 issued during his reign which makes it quite evident that he was ruling in that area in 46 A D and in the archaeological evidence according to which the dynasty of Gondopharnes ruled in Taxila for a long period before the coming of the Kusānas [82] Kujula Kadphises forced the kingdom of Taxila to pay tribute, but Konow is mistaken in thinking that Sirkap a part of Taxila was destroyed by him[83] and was abandoned, as the coins of his successor, Wema Kadphises, are also found there [84]

The date of the conquest of Kipin is still controversial Levi tries to solve this problem by citing the following statement from Tsien Han Chou —

> "From the time that the emperor Woo-te opened up communication with Kipin the rulers of that kingdom, in view of extreme distances, had considered themselves safe from the intrusion of a Chinese army In this confidence, the king Woo-tou-laou on several occasions had put the Chinese envoy to death Yue-muh fo killed seventy persons of the Chinese envoy and then sent an envoy with a letter to the emperor acknowledging his transgression. But the country being among

the unregistered and impracticable regions, the emperor Yuan ti (48 32 B C)[85] discharged the envoy, communication being cut off by the Hindu-kush In the time of the emperor Cheng-ti (32 7 B C)[86] Kipin again sent an envoy with offerings and an acknowledgement of guilt The Supreme Board wished to send an envoy with a reply to escort the Kipin envoy home Too kin however, resisted the proposal and ultimately prevented the sending of an embassy [67] The envoy of Kipin returned to his country in 25 B C '[68]

Levi argues that the anxiety of the king of Kipin to conciliate the Chinese again after maltreating the previous Chinese envoys must be due to some danger threatening his kingdom 'In vain did Kipin under the menace of a pressing peril acknowledge its fault and offer reparation to the successor of Yuan-ti[69] Cheng ti (32 7 B C) imitated the prudent reserve of his predecessors and abandoned the unfortunate Kipin to an invasion of Yue chi which was led by Kieou-tsiou-kio '[90] He, therefore, puts the conquest of Kipin by Kujula Kadphises between 25 B C and 7 B C But this date seems to be very early, as Pan-ku who gives a long description of Kipin and describes events up to 24 A D does not make any mention of the conquest Moreover, according to the wording of Fan Ye, Kujula Kadphises conquered Pota and Kipin after occupying Kaofu But Kaofu was occupied by him about 30 A D , Pota and Kipin must have, therefore, been conquered by him after 30 A D and before 50 A D the probable date of his death

His kingdom thus included the present territories of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, East Turkmenistan, North Afghanistan (about half of the present State), Khurasan, a portion of West Pakistan (stretching from the frontier of Afghanistan to the Indus) and Kashmir The kingdom of Taxila was tributary to him

HIS COINAGE

He issued an extensive copper coinage and a large number of his coins have been found in Afghanistan[91] and Taxila [92] They have Greek legends with the square form of omicron on the obverse and Kharoshthī legends on the reverse They may be divided into the following types

1 Obv Bust of Hermaeus r., diadem, Greek legend Basileos Steros-su Ermaiou.

Rev Heracles, facing, diadem, holds a club in r hand, in l. lion's skin Kharoshthī legend : *Kujula Kasasa Kushana Yavu* (?) *gasa dhramathidasa* "(coin) of Kujula-Kasa, chief or King of the Kuṣānas, stead fast in faith" [93]

It represents the joint-rule of Kujula Kadphises and Hermaeus, with the former occupying the position of a subordinate ally

2 Obv Bust of Hermaeus r, diadem, Greek legend *Koshano Kozoulo Kadphises* (ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΥ)

Rev Heracles, facing, diadem, holds a club in r hand and lion's skin over l arm, Kharoshthī legend *Kujula Kasasa Kushana Yavu(u)gasa dhramathidasa* [94]

It denotes the gradual assumption of a status of equality by Kujula Kadphises with the Greek king

There are many degraded and barbarous copies of the joint issue They have corrupt Greek legends[95] and portray divergent features of the bust of Hermaeus On one of these coins, we see the bust of the king having large hair, his features having some resemblance to those of Hermaeus, and traces of circular Greek legend ;[96] while on another, we find a bust, having little resemblance to the face of Hermaeus, showing traces of some letters of the Greek legend [97] They were evidently the production of a period of stress and turmoil, when Hermaeus and Kujula Kadphises were engaged in warfare against the Parthians and when even semi-skilled workers of the Kusana kingdom might have been employed for their manufacture

3 Obv Head of king r closely resembling that of Augustus in his later years, diadem, Greek legend in neat characters *Khoshansu Zaoou Kozola Kadaphes* "(coin) of the Kusana chief, Kozola Kadaphes"

Rev King (or deity) seated r on a seat resembling a curule chair, his r hand extended, in l field monogram  Kharoshthī legend : *Khushanasa Yauasa Kuyula Kaphsas sa(cha) dhrama(thita) sa* "(coin) of Kujula Kaphsa, chief or king of the Kuṣānas steadfast in true faith" [98] Coomaraswamy and Banerjee think that the deity may be representing Siva,[99] but the special symbols such as his bull or trident associated with that god and found on the coins of Wema Kadphises are missing The figure most probably represents and the monogram symbolises the Buddhist Triratna

This type shows that Kujula Kadphises was now enjoying sovereign powers in the whole of his empire and he was copying the Roman head from the issues of Augustus (27 B C -14 A D) in his later years

4 Obv Head of king r wearing a peculiar helmet with two recurved horns The full Greek legend seems to be · *Koshano Kozoula Kozoulo Kadphises* (*K 4Δϕ IZOY*).

Rev Armed soldier, wearing helmet, standing r , with spear and circular shield Kharoshthi legend : *Kujula Kausa* (Kushanasa) [100]

The peculiar helmet seems to be the national martial head-dress, Kujula Kadphises was now in a position not to copy foreign coinage, but to issue coins depicting national traits

5 Obv Humped bull, standing r debased Greek legends

monogram 

Rev Two-humped camel, standing r , Kharoshthi legend (?) Kushana Ku(yula) Kara-Kaphsasa [101]

Different legends appear on this type of coinage Maharayasa Rayarayasa Kujula Kara Kaphsa Kujula Kara Kapsa Maharayasa Rayarayasa, Maharajasa Mahastsa Kushana Kuyula Kaphsasa, Maharajasa Rajatirajasa Kuyula Kaphsa [102] Cunningham read the title Devaputra in one of these legends but his reading was incorrect [103] The adoption of high imperial titles by Kujula Kadphises is a clear indication of the fact that he had now reached the zenith of his power Starting from Bactria, he had extended his empire so much that it now included parts of India His regard far his home country which was famed for its camels[104] is symbolised by the effigy of two humped camel, while his respect for the Indian faith of Saivism finds its expression in the effigy of the humped bull (Nandi) the favourite symbol of Lord Śiva and the monogram Nandipāda illustrating its foot-print

HIS RELIGION

Kujula Kadphises adopted Buddhism as his religion The title "Dharmathida" [105] (Skt Dharmasthita=stead-fast in faith) and Sachadharmathida" [106] (Skt *Satyadharmasthita*=steadfast in true faith) are essentially Buddhist epithets This fact is corroborated by the Chinese evidence that the Yue-chi king who was reigning in 2 B C had Buddhist learnings *The Wei-lio* in an extract preserved for us by San Koo-tchi mentions this fact, "In the year 2 B C (the first

year of the period Youan-tcheou of Ai ti), a Chinese official had learnt to know Buddhist sutras by oral transmission through the agency of an ambassador of the king of the Yue chi "[107] As we find the king of the Yue chi and not the head of a hi-hou mentioned in 2 B C, he could be no other than Kujula Kadphises It was he who became the first king of the Yue-chi after uniting all the five Yue chi hi hous about that period [108]

But there is some difference of opinion about the interpretation of the above-mentioned passage Panthier found it reproduced in the account of India in the Pien i-tien, and translated it thus 'The first year Youan tcheou of Ai-ti of the Han (2 years before the Christian era), King lou, disciple of a learned scholar, received from the king of the Great Yue chi an envoy named I tsun-keou, he received at the same time a Buddhist book which said, 'He who shall be established again, it is the man "[109] On the other hand, Specht has given a different version '(In Central India, there was a holy man called Cha lin-si) In the first of the years Youan tcheou of Ai-ti of the Han (two years before the Christian era), King lou, disciple of the teacher received from the king of the Great Yue chi an envoy named I-tsun keou and gave him a Buddhist book which said "In the kingdom he who shall be raised again (upon the throne), it is thus said "[110] it means that, according to Specht, King-lou was an Indian, and the Yue chi envoy did not hand over a Buddhist book but received one Specht is, however, mistaken in his views, as many Chinese compilations mention the fact that King-lou received Buddhist works from the Yue chi king by word of mouth Tao siuen (595 667 A D) gives the following reading in the Koang houng-ming tsi, "In the year Youan tcheou of Ai-ti (2 B C), King-lieu was sent into the kingdom of the the Great Yue-chi, i e why after having learnt by heart the sacred books of the Buddha, he returned to China "[111] Similar accounts are found in Fa iuen-tchou-lin by Tao chen (668 A D)[112] and Tsi-cha-men-pou-ing-pai su tang-chen by Yen tsoung (662 A D) [113]

Kujula Kadphises developed a great respect for the Hindu sect of Śaivism Consequently, the bull, the favourite symbol of Śiva and the monogram Nandipada make their appearance on a series of his coins [114]

HIS DEATH

He died at the age of eighty [115] This date may be safely placed at about 50 A D., as he may be taken to be about twenty years old,

when he attacked the other Yue-chi principalities in Tahia about 10 B.C Thomas, Smith Sircar and Marshall give 40 A D ,[116] 45 A D[117] 65 A D[118] and 80 A D[119] respectively as the likely dates for this event The date given by Sircar is very late, as it leaves too short a period (only thirteen years) for the reign of his son, Wema Kadphises, who conquered a large part of Northern India and issued a vast coinage of his own Marshall s views obout Kusana chronology which are based on the theory that Kaṇiska came to the throne about 128 A D[133] are discussed in Chapter V[120]

FOOT NOTES

1 *HHC* Chap 118
2 *CCIM* 65 No 1
CBM p 122 Pl XXV 3 4
3 *CBM* p 123 Pl XXV, 5
4 *CCIM* p 65 No 1
CBM p 122 Pl XXV 3 4
5 *CCIM*, p 66 Pl XI 2
6 *CBM* p 123 Pl XXV, 5
7 *CCPM* Vol 1 p 182 f n
8 *CCIM* p 67 No 17 Pl XI, 4
9 *NC* Ser III Vol XII 1892, pp 66 77, Pl IV, 9-12
10 *CHI* Vol I p 582
11 *NC* Ser III Vol XII 1892 pp 66-67, Pl IV, 9-12
12 *HHC* Chap 118
13 *ASIAR* 1912-13 p 52 No 49
14 *CBM* p 120 Pl XXV 1
15 *THA*, Vol II 207 208, pp 10-12
Sanskrit 'Brihat —Turki "Tegin" means the same thing as Kadphises or Pahlavi 'Kad" (chief)+' phises or Sanskrit 'pesa' (cf *JRAS* 1913 p 632)
16 Kujula Kadphises is regarded as the son of Heraus, the Kusana chief by Ghirshman (*BG* pp 116,164),
while Tarn thinks that Kujula was most probably his grandson (*GBI* pp 505 507)

But there is no convincing argument to support their theories

17 *HHC*, Chap 118

18 Map II The Soviet archaeologists have recently discovered the ruins of a palace in Khalchayan in Central Asia they consider the ruined town to have been the first capital of Kusāna rulers (See also Appendix IV and Appendix V *Tribune* dated 18 8 68)

19 *HHC*, Chap 118

20 *JA* 9e serie tome X 1897 pp 152 93

21 *JRAS* 1903 pp 23 28

22 *JA*, 1897 p 14,
BF pp 91-92
JPTS 1910-12, p 4
For bibliographical notes about Wei lio see under Yu Houen

23 *HHC* Chap 118 transl by Specht in *JA* 1883 p 324,
IA 1903 p 417
IA 1917 p 261
See Map II

24 *PSIC*, p 9

25 *HPS*, pp 362 74

26 *HPS* p 387

27 *Rg Veda* X 75, *JRAS* (NS) Vol XV, pp 359-60
AIP, p 86

28 *OGP*, Chap 18, 2, AIP, p 311

29 *Geography, Book XV* 26,
AICL p 31

30 *AICL*, p 192

31 *PSIC* p 9

32 Gondopharnes was a Parthian viceroy of Arachosia who became independent of the power of the Parthian kings He occupied Kabul and Taxila, but soon lost Kabul and continued to rule over Taxila for a long period He acceded to the throne in 20 A D

33 *CHI* p 577

34 *CBM*, p 62

35 *CBM* p 120 Pl XXV 1
ICR Pl II 7
CHI Vol I p 589 Pl VII 28
CIB Pl IV 1
CCIM p 33 No 1 Pl VI 14
CBM p 122 Pl XXV 3 4

36 *CCIM* p 66 Pl XI 2
CBM p 123 Pl XXV 5
NC Series III Vol XII 1892
pp 66 67 Pl IV 9 12
JNSI Vol IX Pt II 1947 pp 78 79

37 *CCPM* Vol I p 172
38 *NIA* Vol I 1938 39 pp 269 71
39 Photograph 1
40 Photograph 2
41 Photograph 3
42 *ICR* p 16
43 *CPI* Vol II Pt I p lxiv
44 *CHI* Vol I pp 561 62
45 *JIH* Vol XII p 29
46 *JNSI* Vol IX Pt I 1947 pp 6 8
47 *CHI* pp 560 61 591 Pl VII 37 XXX h
48 *CII* Vol II Pt I pp 57 62

Takht i Bahi is situated 24 miles from Nowshera in West Pakistan The inscription was issued during the reign of Maharaja Guduvhara (King Gondopharnes)

49 *IA* 1908 pp 61 62 78
50 *IA* 1917 pp 267 69
51 *JRAS* 1915 pp 195 96
52 *ASIAR* 1929 30 p 56
53 *CHI* pp 561 589 Pl VII 28
ICR Pl II 7 8 9
54 *NIA* Vol I 1938 39 p 273

55 *CIB*, Pl IV, 27
56 *THC*, Chap 96(a) fol 15 r
57 See Bibliographical notes
58 *HHC* Chap 118,
59 According to the Takht-i Bahi inscription of Gondopharnes, ascended the throne in 20 A D
60 *HHC* Chap 118
61 *BF*, p 99
62 *UZGVE* ii, p 175 f,
CII, Vol II Pt I, p lxiv
63 Arachos a indicated the south eastern parts of modern Afghanistan and north eastern parts of modern Baluchistan
64 *TP*, II vii pp 513 ff, viii, p 191
Balkh (36 45 N 66 48 E) is situated in North Afganistan
65 *CIS*, (Pt I) p 29
66 *History*, *Book IV*, 44, *AICL*, p 4
67 *EI*, Vol XIV, pp 290 93
68 *TFS*, p 197
69 206 B C —264 A D
70 618 A D —907 A D
71 *TP*, VI, 1906, p 538 n,
JA Ser ix tome vii, p 161
72 *TFS*, p 197
73 *GBI*, pp 469 73
74 North-Eastern Afghanistan
75 *EHI*, p 251 f n
76 *NIS*, p 69
77 *OYCT*, Vol I, pp 259-61.
78 *JRAS* 1912, p 683,
Woo-yih shau-li meant Western Arachosia
79 Bardanes or Vardanes reigned from A D 39 to 47
80 *ITAT*, Bk I Chap 28, Bk III, Chap 58, pp 13 16 47 48
81 *SH*, 1932 p 101
82 *JRAS* 1915 pp 195 96

83 *JRAS*, 1932 p 957
84 *ASIAR*, 1912-13, p 44
85 *JRAS*, 1912, p 683
86 *Ibid*
87 Li-tai-ki-sse nian pao, Lio XXVII, fol 7,
JA, X 1897 p 163
88 *Ibid*
89 Yuan ti ruled from 48 B C to 32 B C
90 *JA*, Jan -Feb , 1897, p 22
91 *JASB*, Vol III, p 152, Vol V, 537, 548,
ASIR, Vol V, p 6
92 *ASIR* Vol XIV, pp 22, 27, 33-34, Vol XV, p 20, Pl 25, 18-19
JRAS, 1915, pp 195 96, 1947, p 27
ASIAR, 1929 30, p 56
93 *CCIM* p 33, No 1, Pl VI, 14,
CBM, p 120, Pl XXV, 1,
CCR, Pl II,7,
CIB, Pl IV, 1
94 *CCIM*, p 65, No 1,
CBM, p 122, Pl XXV, 3-4
95 *CCIM*, p 65, No 15-22
96 *JNSI*, Vol IX, Pt I, pp 7, 9, Pl 1, B 1
97 *Ibid*, pp 8, 10, Pl 1, B 4
98 *CBM*, p 123, Pl XXV, 5,
CCIM, p 66,
NIA, Vol I, pp 269-70,
CIB Pl IV, 2,
CCR, p 57
99 *JNSI*, Vol IX, Pt II, 1947, p 81
100 *CCIM*, p 66, Pl XI, 2
101 *CCIM* p 67, No 17 Pl XI, 4
102 *NC*, Ser III, Vol XII, 1892, pp 66-67, Pl IV, 9-12,
CBM p 112

103 *JNSI*, Vol IX Pt II pp 79 80

104 Ammianus Marcellinus History, Bk XXIII, AIP p 324 "Most parts of the country (Bactriani) are, like Margiani, far distant from the sea but the soil is productive, and the cattle that are pastured on the plains and hill sides, are compact of stature, with limbs both stout and strong as may be judged from the camels which were brought from thence by Mithradates and seen by the Romans during the siege of Cyzicus when they saw this species of animal for the first time'

105 *CCIM*, p 33, No 1, Pl VI 14,
CBM, p 122 Pl XXV, 3-4

106 *CBM* p 123 Pl XXV, 5

107 *JA*, Jan -Feb 1897 p 14
BF, pp 91-92
JPTS, 1910 12 p 4

108 *HHC* Chap 118

109 *IA*, 1903 pp 419-20,
IA, 1904 pp 114-15

110 *JA*, Jan June 1890 pp 180 85

111 *IA*, 1903, pp 419 20,
IA, 1904 p 116

112 *Ibid*

113 *IA*, 1904,p 115

114 *CCIM*, p 67 No 17 Pl XI, 4

115 *HHC*, Chap 118

116 *JRAS*, 191 629

117 *EHI* p 252.

118 *HCIP*, pp 13o 39

119 *JRAS* 194 p 27

120 *Ibid* p 32

4

WEMA KADPHISES

HIS CONQUESTS AND EXTENT OF EMPIRE

Wema Kadphises was the son of Kujula Kadphises, and was called Yen-kao-cheng or Yen-kao tchin by the Chinese[1] According to Fan Ye, he succeeded to the throne after the death of his father

He is known as Ooemo Kadphises on his coins[2] He was the first Kusāna ruler who extended his conquests into a great part of India Fan Ye makes the following remarks about his achievements —

"He conquered Tien-tchou and appointed generals there who governed in the name of the Yue-chi "[3]

The term "Tien-tchou' has been applied to India in a very vague fashion by the Chinese, and the statement of Fan Ye cannot be taken to mean that he brought the whole of India under his control There are, however some other sources which help us to get some idea about the extent of his empire

(1) The kingdom of Taxila had become tributary during the reign of Kujula Kadphises[1] From archaeological evidence we learn that Sirkap, a thickly populated part of Taxila, was sacked and abandoned during the time of Wema Kadphises, as a large number of his coins and those of his predecessors have been found in the excavations in that area but not a single one of his successors[5] A remarkable discovery in this connection was made by Marshall who found an earthen jar containing 21 small silver coins belonging to four distinct classes, two to the reign of Gondopharnes, and one each to the reigns of Pacores[6] and Wema Kadphises[7] The coins of Pacores bear his own portrait, the symbol of Gondopharnes and the legend of Sasas who uses the subordinate title "Great King and is described as the "brother's son of Aspa[8] We can safely draw

the conclusion that it was Wema Kadphises who ousted Pacores or his successors from the throne of Taxila

(2) Kumārajiva who translated *Sūtralamkara Śastra* into Chinese describes the conquest of Toung Tien tchou (eastern India) by Kaniska [9] and the Fou fa tsang in iuen tchoen[10] gives an account of Kaniska's conquest of Hoa chen (Pataliputra) [11] It is quite obvious that the kingdom of Pataliputra was conquered by Kaniska and not by Wema Kadphises

(3) We learn from the dates given in the Kosam inscription of the year 2 and the Sarnath Buddhist inscriptions of the year 3 that they were included in Kaniska s dominions in the initial years of his reign [12] We do not find any mention of his conquest of these important religious centres, Kosam and Varanasi, in the books which describe his conquest of Pataliputra and other places [13] It can be presumed they had been incorporated in the Kusana empire by Wema Kadphises

(4) A large number of the coins of Wema Kadphises have been found at Begram,[14] Peshawar,[15] Taxila, [16] Kalka Kasauli road, [17] Mathura,[18] Gopalpura stupa [19] (Gorakhpur District) Bhita,[20] Varanasi [21] and Indore[22] and of his military governors as far as Ghazipur [23] (near Varanasi) and Saurashtra (Gujarat) [24] Their find-spots corroborate the other kinds of evidence in determining the wide extent of his empire

(5) The testimony of the author of the Periplus who wrote about 78 A D that India carried on a flourishing trade with Rome during that early period through the city of Ozene[25] (Ujjain) and the port of Barygaza[26] (Broach), and that there was complete safety of routes from Kabul to Mathura and Pataliputra and Mathura to Ujjain and Broach[27] strongly suggests that all these territories were under the control of one emperor or his allies who maintained peace in them He could be no other ruler than Wema Kadphises who ruled during those times [28]

(6) Sind was however, not under Wema Kadphises The author of the Periplus makes a categorical statement that it was subject to Parthian princes who were constantly driving each other out[29], and that the result of the disturbed condition was that there were far more of the products carried by the overland route to Barygaza (Broach) than of those coming to Barbaricum[30] at the mouth of the Indus

(7) A Kharoshthi inscription has been discovered at Khalatse bridge in Ladakh in which the name of the king seems to be given as "Maharajasa Uvima Kavithisasa"; and the portrait of a Kusana king, just as it is found on many of the Kusana coins, appears in the middle of the text [31] The name has been taken to stand for Wema Kadphises, and the date given in it (Sam 187) has been interpreted as 103 A D [32] or 130 A.D [33] It has been suggested on the basis of this inscription that Western Ladakh was also subject to Wema Kadphises [34] The fact that no Kusana coins have been found in Ladakh has been explained by stating that they will be unearthed when some Buddhist mounds are allowed to be excavated in that Buddhist country But the reading of the ruler's name is not certain, the portrait of the king does not help us in identifying him, and the date definitely rules out, according to the system of chronology adopted here,[35] the possibility of his being Wema Kadphises The inscription seems to have been issued in 130 A D during the reign of a ruler of Ladakh who was dressed in a costume which is associated with that of the Kusana kings on their coins

The empire of Wema Kadphises thus extended from Bactria to Ghazipur and from Kashmir to Saurashtra (Gujarat)

ADMINISTRATION

Wema Kadphises ruled over his empire by means of military viceroys,[36] to one of whom should be attributed the large number of coins known to numismatists as those of the Nameless King The proof that the Nameless King was contemporary of Wema Kadphises is furnished by Cunningham,[37] both Wema Kadphises and the Nameless King used the title Soter Megas (lit the Great Saviour), but while the former calls himself *Basileus Basileon*[38] King of Kings), the latter describes himself as Basileus Basileuon[39] (Reigning King), the participle indicating a subordinate rank The assumption of royal titles by the Kusana viceroy was, by no means, a strange occurrence, the Parthian viceroys of Gondopharnes had done the same thing [40]

The system of government by feudal lords continued during the reign of his successors A statue has been found at Mat near Mathura in which the principal donor is designated as "Bakanpati",[41] and the name of the ruler is mentioned as *'Mahārāja Rajatiraja Devaputra Kuṣāna* (m) *putr* (o) *Shāhi Vama Takshama* [42] The statue can be easily identified with that of Wema Kadphises[43] from the

bulky figure which is also portrayed on his coins[44] The statue seems to have been installed during the reign of Huviska[45]

INSCRIPTIONS ISSUED DURING HIS REIGN

There are three inscriptions which do not mention his personal name but which must be assigned to his reign

1 The Panjtar inscription of the year 122 found at Panjtar[46] The ruler is described as "Maharaja Gushana' (The Kusana King)

2 The Kalawan Copper Plate inscription of the year 134[47] The name of the ruler is not given

3 The Taxila Silver Scroll inscription of the year 135[48] The ruler is styled *Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra Khushana* (Great King Supreme King of Kings Son of Heaven the Kusana), and at the end of the inscription is affixed the characteristic symbol  ' Nandi pāda" of the coins of Wema Kadphises Wema Kadphises was also the first Kusāna king with whom the title Devaputra was associated[49]

The era employed in these inscriptions is not specified but they should be dated in terms of the Scytho-Parthian era or the era of Azes, beginning with 57 B C and popularly known as the Vikrama era The crucial word for determining the era are "Ajasa" and "Ayasa' occurring in the Kalawan Copper Plate inscription of the year 134[50] and in the Taxila Silver Scroll inscription of the year 136[51] The shape of the letters shows clearly that the same era was used in both cases, and the double writing "Aja" and ' Aya" are parallel to the doublets "Kujula and "Kuyula" of the first Kusāna king Kujula Kadphises There is no doubt that the genitive "Ajasa ' preceding the name of the month Srāvana is identical with the genitive "Ayasa preceding the name of the month Āshādha

The theory that ' Ayasa" is equivalent to the Sanskrit "Āryasa' on the grounds that a special sanctity was attached to the months Ashādha and Śrāvana and that these months were actually described as Aryashādha[52] is very far-fetched, and cannot be accepted The protagonists of the theory do not explain how ' r ' had disappeared from 'Āryasa ' when "r ' is not dropped in North-Western Prakrit, and why the word indicating sanctity has not been used with these months in the Panjtar inscription of the year 122[53] and the Zeda inscription of the year 11[54]

Konow at first explained the word Ayasa occurring in the Taxila Silver Scroll inscription of the year 136 (A D 79) as corres ponding to Sanskrit Adyasya (first) because there was in that particular year a second intercalary Ashadha But the Kalawan epigraph proved that that explanation was not correct as according to astronomical calculations made by Dr Van Wijk there was no intercalated Sravana in the year 134 as it should have been according to Konow s rendering Konow admitted the mistake and subscribed to the views of Marshall that Ayasa means of Azes or an era instituted by Azes [58] This interpretation is justified as the term Ayasa is also used on the reverse of the coins of Azes *Maharajasa Rajatiraja Mahatasa Ayasa* The absence of any royal titles in the inscriptions is not surprising as his era was popu lar and had been in use for more than a century but his dynasty had been supplanted by that of the Kushanas Rapson took the same view and added that Azes could scarcely have been fur nished with his wonted titles in this inscription without prejudice to the house then actually ruling [59]

The dates of the Panjtar inscription the Kalawan inscription and the Taxila Silver Scroll inscription would thus be 65 A D 77 A D and 79 A D

The Taxila Silver Scroll inscription shows clearly that Wema Kadphises continued to rule till 79 A D [60] If Kaniska had come to the throne in 78 A D as is generally held his name and not that of Khusana would certainly have appeared in that inscription as we find it in other inscriptions issued during his reign and the inscrip tion would have been dated in terms of his own era and not the Scytho Parthian era

Another important revelation that is made by the inscription is that even though a part of Taxila (Sirkap) was destroyed and abandoned during the period of Wema Kadphises [61] another part of Taxila (the site of Dharmarajika stupa) had become a place of pilgrimage—as the inscription describes—the enshrinement of the relics of the holy one in that place in 79 A D [62]

Marshall prefers to identify the king mentioned in the inscri ption with Kujula Kadphises on the assumption that both the titles and the symbol found in it occur on his coins also [63] But the title Devaputra is never used by Kujula Kadphises Cuningham who read it on two coins of that ruler[64] was mistaken in his reading

Allen who re-examined the coins also does not accept Cunningham's version [65]. The date of the inscription shows clearly that it was issued during the reign of the successor of Kujula Kadphises.

THEORIES ABOUT HIS BEING THE FOUNDER OF AN ERA

Konow wrongly regards Wema Kadphises as the founder of the Saka era [66]. He does not explain why inscriptions issued during his reign are not dated in that era [67] and why Kaṇiska his successor did not use his era but started a new regnal reckoning of his own as is quite evident[68] from the dates given in the inscriptions issued during his reign. Growse had gone to the other extreme by identifying him with Vikramaditya [69] but the evidence of the Chinese annalists is quite definite that he could not have ascended the throne as early as 57 B.C. [70]

HIS COINAGE

Wema Kadphises issued an extensive gold, a large copper and a *little silver coinage. Copper coins of his predecessor Kujula* Kadphises, were already in wide circulation and the silver pieces of Apollodotus and Menander according to the Periplus, continued to be current during that period [71]. The issue of gold coinage on a large scale was due to the import of the valuable specie from Rome on account of a very favourable balance of trade which India enjoyed with that country [72]. The control of Kashmir (Kipin) which was famous for its gold mines[73] may also have helped him in this connection. The idea of gold dinara was probably inspired by Roman aureus and its weight and size were influenced to some extent by its prototype. It was designed to serve as a convenient multiple of the copper denomination for large scale commercial transactions [74]. The issue of double staters by him was an originality [75].

He issued the following types of coins :—

1. *(Gold) Bust of the king on the obv. and two armed Śiva* on the rev.

(a) Obv. Upper part of king diadem. l., emerging from clouds, with high hat or helmet, flames rising from shoulders, club in r. hand elephant-goad in l. monogr. behind head  Legend

BACIΛEYC OOHMO KAΔφICHC [76]

Rev. Two armed Śiva, facing, head l. with hair in special top knot and a tiger's skin on l. arm grasping combined trident

and battle axe in r hand, in l gourd monogr to r , to l Kharoshthī legend *Maharajasa Rajadiraja asa sarvaloga Iśvarasa Mahesvarasa Wima Kathphisasa Tratarasa* (of the Great King Supreme King of Kings, Lord of All the Worlds, Devotee of Śiva, Wema Kadphises, the Saviour) [77]

(b) Obv the same as above but king to the r

Rev Śiva, facing head l holding trident in r hand, drapery on l arm and hanging at back behind him a humped bull r, monogr to l legend as in l(a) [78]

(c) Obv as in I (b), but king wears diadem, not helmet Rev the same as in 1 (b) [79]

II (Gold) King seated cross legged on clouds on the obv, rev as in 1 (b)

Obv The king wearing helmet and diadem seated, facing cross-legged on clouds head turned to r, in his r hand a club, his head surmounted by a trident to l Legend as in l(a)

Rev as in (b) [80]

III (Gold) King seated on throne on the obv two armed Śiva on the rev

Obv the king wearing helmet and diadem, seated, facing on throne, head turned to l, flames rising from shoulders, in r hand a branch beneath his feet a foot-stool to r to l, a club Legend as in l(a)

Rev as in l(b) [81]

IV (Gold) Head of king in raised square frame on the obv and trident with battle-axe attached on the rev

Obv Head of king r in raised square frame, legend as in 1 (a)

Rev Trident on stand, with battle-axe attached l, a club at r foot, monogr to r and to l Kharoshthī legend, (*sa*) *Rajadiraja*-(*sa*) *Wimakathaphisasa* [82]

V (Gold) King on elephant with Greek legend as in 1 (a) on the obv and Śiva with bull on the rev as in 1 (b)[83]

VI (Gold) King riding on a two-horsed chariot with his club resting on his r shoulder and a small driver in front on the obv

Rev the same as in V [84]

VII (a) (Copper) King standing with r hand over altar on the obv, and two armed Siva on the rev

Obv King diadem wearing tall cap and long coat standing l with r hand over altar, trident with battle axe combined l in l field club and monogr  in r field legend *OOHMO KA∆ϕICHC BACI\EYC BACI∧EWN CWTHP MEΓAC Wema Kadphises,* the King of Kings, the Great Saviour)

Rev as in I (b)[85]

(b) (Silver) (i) the same as in V (a) [86]

(ii) Portrait of Wema Kadphises wearing the conical head dress legend Great King, Supreme King of Kings the Kusana Chief [8]

It is quite obvious that the reverses of his coins offer little variety they are mostly confined to the representation of Lord Siva or the god's favourite symbols—the Nandi bull the trident and the battle-axe On some coins the god is represented standing alone on others he is accompanied by Nandi On his small gold coins (quarter dinaras) the type is simply the trident and the battle axe combined

Greek inscriptions are on the obverse and are always in the nominative case *BACI∧EC OOHMO KA∆ϕICHC* on the gold coins and *BACI∧EYC BACI∧EWN CWTHP MEΓAC OOHMO KA∆ϕICHC* on the copper coins The Kharoshthi inscription appears on the reverse and is always the same in full or partial form in the possessive case "*Maharajasa Rajadirajasa Sarvaloga Isvarasa Mahes varasa Wima Kathphisasa Tratarasa* On a silver coin found in Sirkap (Taxila) he assumes the legend 'Great King King of Kings, the Kushana Chief '[8]

HIS RELIGION

Wema Kadphises was an ardent worshipper of Siva as he portrayed Siva or his favourite symbols on all his coins Śaivism was still widely practised in India and he adopted it with great zeal He described himself as a devotee of Śiva "'Mahesvarasa'

TRADE AND COMMERCE

The conquests of Kujula Kadphises and Wema Kadphises opened up the overland route of commerce between India and the Roman Empire Trade through central Asia had previously been subject to attacks by many savage tribes the existence of a unified power in Bactria the Kabul Valley, the Punjab, the Yamuna valley

and the Upper Ganga Valley made it possible for a regular trade to be carried on from the Euphrates to the Ganga (Ganges). It was facilitated by the peace treaty between Rome and Parthia which was signed in 63 A D and which was not broken for half a century [89] The discovery by Hippalus in 47 A D of the existence of the Etesian (Monsoon) wind blowing regularly across the Indian ocean gave an impetus to the trade by sea-route [90] India enjoyed a very favourable balance of trade with Rome It resulted in the drain of the valuable specie from that country and was bitterly condemned by Pliny [91] The rapid growth of such trade is indicated by the coinage of the first two Kusana rulers, Kujula Kadphises struck coins in copper or bronze only while Wema Kadphises issued also an extensive gold coinage A detailed account of this trade is given in chapter IX

HIS IMMEDIATE SUCCESSOR

There is some controversy about the name of the successor of Wema Kadphises Konow thinks that there are indications to show that the disintegration of the Kusāna empire began to set in after the death of Wema Kadphises and that Maharaja Jihonica was the actual ruler of the country during 107-108 A D [92] Lohuizen-De-Leeuw is also of the opinion that there was perhaps a short reign of Jiho nica between the reigns of Wema Kadphises and Kaniska and that the reigns of the three kings[93] must have together lasted about 100 years. She finds confirmation of this theory in the Purānas in which the discrepancy of the three monarchs in the lists of Tukhara kings (eleven or fourteen) is explained as due to the fact that the Kadphises kings are as often as not included in the Indian chronological lists She identifies king Kafand his son (Ayand) and grandson (Rasal) given in the Mujmal-ut Tawarikh, and King Kishen, his son king Maharaja and Maharaja s nephew Kaid Raj given in the introduction of Ferishta's History with Kujula Kadphises Wema Kadphises and Jihonica [94] But these identifications are quite baseless as there is not the slightest resemblance between the names which are compared As a matter of fact the Taxila Silver Scroll inscription of the year 136 (79 A D) makes it quite clear that Wema Kadphises was ruling at that time[95] and the dates (2-23) given in the inscriptions issued during the reign of Kaniska[96] provide a sufficient testimony to the fact that Kaniska was the founder of a new system of reckoning dates which, during that period, could only be what later on came to

be known as the Śaka era This interpretation is supported by the data regarding the constellation of months given in the Zeda inscription of the year 11 and the Und inscription of the year 61 [97] Kaniska, thus, came to the throne immediately after the death of Wema Kadphises in 79 A D —the date of the commencement of the Śaka era

FOOT-NOTES

1 'Kieu-tsieou kio (Kujula Kadphises) died at eighty years, his son, Yen-kao tchin, ascended the throne
HHC, Chapter 118, transl by Specht, *JA*,1883 p 324, *IA*, 1903 p 417

2 *CBM*, p 125, 5, Pl XXV, 9
Chap 118

3 *HHC* transl by Specht *JA* 1883 p 324,
IA 1903, p 417

4 See Chap 3

5 *GT*, p 79, *IA*, p 83,
ASIAR, 1912-13, pp 42-45

6 Pacores was the successor of Gondopharnes

7 *ASIAR*, 1912-13, Pl XL, 45, 46, Nos 45-47, p 51,
CHI Vol I, p 580

8 Aspa stands for Aspavarman who held office in the reign of Gondopharnes and was succeeded by his nephew Sasas who was the governor of Taxila in the reign of Pacores
CHI, pp 580-81

9 *SA*, Chap 6, vide *IA*, 1903, p 385

10 See Bibliography

11 *FFT* Chap 5, vide *IA*, 1903 p 387,
The site of the ancient city of Pātaliputra is now occupied by Patna (25 37 N, 85 13 E)

12 *EI*, Vol XXIV, pp 210 12 (year 2),
EI, Vol VII, pp 173 81 (year 3)
The Kosam and the Sarnath inscriptions were issued during

Kaniska's reign Kosam (ancient Kausambi) is situated on the Yamuna near Allahabad, and Sarnath is situated about 4 miles north of Varanasi

13 See Chap 5

14 *JASB*, III, p 152, V, pp 537 548
Begram is 25 miles north of Kabul

15 *JASB*, 1881, p 184,
ABORI, 1949, p 317

16 *JRAS*, 1915 pp 195 96

17 *JASB*, 1881, p 184

18 *ASIR*, Vol XX p 37

19 *PASB*, 1896, p 100

20 *ASIR* Vol XII p 43,
The remains of this ancient city are found near Allahabad
See Map III

21 *EHI*, p 252

22 *ASIR* Vol XII, p 43

23 *EHI* p 252

24 *Ibid*

25 Ozene is a transliteration of Ujjayini the Sanskrit name of the old and famous city of Avanti It is now called Ujjain It was a great commercial centre

26 Barygaza (modern Broach) was a great commercial port on the Narmada river It is now situated about thirty miles from the sea on the north side of the river It was called Barygaza or Bargosa in Greek but was known as Bharukaccha in India This name is derived from the Sanskrit word Bhrigukshetra

27 *POES* p 270

28 Kujula Kadphises died about 50 A D (See Chap 3), and was succeeded by Wema Kadphises

29 *POES*, 38 p 37

30 Barbaricum or Barbaricon was called Barbarei by Ptolemy (*AIP*, pp 146 48) It was a great maritime port, and was situated on the middle mouth of the Indus Its position has been identified with various sites near Karachi Elliot and

Cunningham placed it at an ancient city called Bambhara situated almost midway between Karachi and Tatta This identification seems to be correct, as the recent excavations carried out by the Pakistan Archaeological Department at Bhambhore have revealed it to have been a great well defended flourishing city in ancient times (*The Tribune* dated 19 1 59, p 1)

31 *IA*, 1929 p 110

32 According to the old Śaka era,

cf *IA* 1929 p 110,

CII Vol II Pt I pp 79 81

33 According to the Scytho Parthian or Vikrama era cf *SP* pp 11 13

34 *IA*, 1929 p 110

35 Kaniska succeeded to the throne after the death of Wema Kadphises in 79 A D

36 *HHC* transl by Specht

JA 1883 p 324 *IA* 1903 p 417

37 *NC* 1892 p 71

38 *CCIM* p 69 Pl XI 7,

Ibid p 68 No 6

39 *CIB* Pl III 6

40 *CHI*, Vol I, pp 580 81

41 'Lord of Bakan' or Vakan, Vakan stands for Wakhan in North East Afghanistan

42 *ASIAR* 1911 12 pp 120-33,

43 Wema is called Vama Takshama '

44 *CIB* Pl IV 3

45 *ASIAR* 1911 12 pp 124 25

46 *CII* Vol II Pt I p 70 Panjtar is situated on the Indus on the borders of the Peshawar and Hazara districts in West Pakistan

47 *EI* Vol XXI, pp 251 59

Kalawan was situated south east of the Sirsukh in Taxila

48 *EI* Vol XIV pp 285 95

49 *ASIAR*, 1911 12, pp 124 25

50 *Samvatsarave 134 Ajasa Sravanasa masasa*,
EI, XXI, p 251-59

51 *Sam 136 Ajasa Āshādhsa masasa*
EI, XIV *pp* 285-95

52 *JBORS*, 1937, pp 261 68,
SP, p 13

53 *CII*, Vol II, Pt I p 70

54 *Ibid*, pp, 142 75

55 *CII* Vol II Pt I p xcni

56 *EI* XXI p 254

57 *GT* p 52
JRAS 1914 pp 973-86

58 *CIB* Pl III 5

59 *CHI*, Vol I, p 582

60 Kaniska came to the throne in the year 136 of the Vikrama era (79 A D) after the 15th Āshadha The Saka era which was given this name long after his death followed the practice of naming months commencing with the Chaitra month according to the Vikrama era

61 A large number of coins of Wema Kadphises and his predecessors have been found at Sirkap, but not a single one of his successors (GT p 79 I A 1923, p 83)

62 *EI*, Vol XIV, 285 95

63 *JRAS* 1914 pp 973 86

64 *NC*, Vol XII 1892 pp 66 67, Pl IV 9 12

65 *JNSI* Vol IX ii pp 79 80

66 *CII*, Vol II Pt I, p lxvii

67 Appendix I

68 *Ibid*

69 *MDM* p 104

70 See Chap 2

71 *POES*, 47 pp 41 42

72 See Chap 9

73 Herodotus, *History*, *Bk* III, 102 105, vide *AICL*, pp 2-4.

74 *JNSI*, XXII, 1960 pp 63-74
75 *Ibid*, p 78
76 See photograph 5
77 *CBM*, p 125, 5, Pl XXV, 9,
CCIM p 68, No 1
78 *CCIM* p 68 No 4
Pl XI, 5
79 *CBM*, p 125 No 4,
Pl XXV, 8
80 *CBM* p 124 No 2
81 *CBM*, p, 124, No 1 Pl XXV, 6,
HIIA, p 238
82 *CCIM*, p 68 Pl XI, 6
CCR p 57
CBM, p 126 Pl XXV 10
83 *BMQ* Vol VIII p 73, vide BIC, p 53
84 *CA* Vol III p 8
85 *CCIM*, p 68
Ibid, p 69 Pl XI, 7,
CCR p 57
CBM, p 126, No 12, Pl XXV, 12
CBM p 128, No 27 Pl XXV 13
86 *CBM*, p 126 Pl XXV, 11
87 *ASIAR* 1912 13, p 51
88 *Ibid*
89 *HPS*, p 379
90 *POES* p 8,
Ibid, 39 p 38
91 *POES*, p 219
92 Konow considers the date 191 of the Taxila inscription of Jihonica to be equivalent to 107 108 A D
SI, p 131

93 She considers Jihonica to be a member of that group—Kujula Kadphises, Wema Kadphises, Jihonica
SP, pp 26, 379

94 *Ibid*

95 See S No 3 of Part A in Appendix I

96 See p 59

97 See Chap 5—Astronomical Evidence

5

KANIṢKA

DIFFERENT FORMS OF THE NAME

The name of Kaniska is written generally with a lingual "n" and a lingual "sh"[1], but it appears as Kaniska (with a dental "n") in the Zeda inscription of the year 11[2], the Sue-Vihara Copper Plate inscription of the same year[3] and the Rājatarangini of Kalhana[4] It is written as "Kaneshka" in the Manikiala inscription of the year 18[5], ' Kānishka' in the British Museum inscription of the year 10[6], "Kanaiska" (with a dental "s") in Khotanese[7] "Kanishka" and "Kanika" in Tibetan[8], and Ka-ni-kia" "Ka-ni-ka", Ki-ni-tcha', "Kanikh", 'Ka-ni-ti" and "Ka-nita[9]" in Chinese Alberūnī calls him 'Kanik"[10], while some Kashmiri Brahmans give a Sanskritised form of the name. 'Kanishtha[11]" The Greek spellings of his name on his coins are "KANHPKOY[12] and KANHPKI[13]", which may be rendered as "Kaneshka" and "Kaneshki", taking the abnormal "P" to be identical with "sh'

The name "Kanak" used by many early Muslim historians is also identical with Kaniska Elliot says that the names of Basdeo, Ujen and Jasand are mentioned as successors of Kanak in some of the early Muslim authors[14] Basdeo can be easily identified with *Vāsudeva, Jasand seems to be a corruption of Hasank, Hushka* or Huviska, and Ujen appears to stand for Vāśiska But if we accept Banakiti's version that Ujen was the predecessor of Kanak[15], it surely points to the reading of Wajen for Wahen and the king may be identified with Wen or Wema Kadphises In any case, the "Kanak" of Muslim historians is no other than Kaniska of the Kuṣāna dynasty

But he was quite different from king Kaniska, son of Vajheska, mentioned in the Ara inscription of the year 41[16] and from

king Kanika addressed in the Mahārājakanikalekha of Mātrcheta[17]

HIS PARENTAGE

He belonged to the Great Yue-chi (Ta Yue chi) as he calls himself a Kusana (Koshano) in his coin legends[18] and the Kusanas were according to Heou Han Chou a part of that main line of the Yue-chi who came to India from the north west[19] There is therefore no justification for the theory of Baron A Von Stael Holstein that he belonged to the Little Yue chi (Siao Yue-chi)[20] or that of Fleet that his tribe came from Khotan to Kashmir and thence to India[21] The statement given in Ma ming pu-su chuan the biography of Asvaghosa, translated into Chinese before 412 A D, that Asvaghosa's patron (Kaniska) was the king of Siao Yue chi[22] cannot, therefore be taken to mean that Kaniska was a descendant of the Little Yue chi The following arguments which have been advanced by Konow in favour of the theory that he came from Khotan are also baseless —

1 According to Maharajakanikalekha king Kanika belonged to a northern country[23] Konow identifies Kanik with Kaniska, and is inclined to consider the northern country as Khotan[24] But his identification is not justified[25]

2 The Tibetan sources tell us that King Kanika and the king of Guzan and King Vijayakirti lord of Li (Khotan) and others led an army into India and overthrew the city of Soked (Sāketa)[26] Konow considers king Kanik to be the same as the king of Guzan (Kusana) and claims that Kaniska led an expedition from Khotan into India But these arguments cannot be upheld Even if we take Guzan to stand for Kusāna, it is quite evident from the context that three kings were involved in the expedition (i) King Kanika (ii) the king of Guzan and (iii) King Vijayakirti King Kanika was, therefore, not the same as the Kusana king Moreover, Vijayakirti came to the throne after Vijayadharma (240 264 A D) and Vijayasimha in the genealogical table of the kings of Khotan[27] long after the reign of Kaniska

3 In the Chinese translation of Kalpanamanditikā king Kaniska has been called "Chentan Kia-ni-cha" 'Chentan' has been rendered by Levi as 'Chandana'[28] which is stated to be an old designation of Khotan in Tibetan texts[29] But it is ridiculous to accept the rendering as Khotan Kaniska' Chentan stands for Devaputra[30]

4 The Heou Han Chou states that king Kien of Khotan was killed by the Chinese in 152 A D, and "Kien" has been taken as an abbreviation of Kaniska[31] But this interpretation cannot be accepted, as this abbreviation has never been used for him in any other Chinese work

Kaniska came to the throne after the death of Wema Kadphises[3], but his relationship with the latter has never been determined as we do not find any reference to it in any inscription or contemporary work But an inscription on the headless statue of Vama Takshama (evidently Wema the strong or Wema Kadphises) records the renewal of a devakula (temple or gallery of royal portraits of ancestors) of Huviska s pitāmah (grandfather)[33] It is safe to draw the inference that Wema Kadphises was the grandfather of Huviska and as Kaniska was the father of the latter,[34] Wema Kadphises was undoubtedly the father of Kaniska This view is confirmed by the system of chronology adopted in this book according to which Wema Kadphises was succeeded by Kaniska in 79 A D without any interregnum between the reigns of the two monarchs[35] There is however a lot of controversy about the date of Kaniska's accession to the throne and it is necessary to examine the various theories for deciding this question

HIS DATE

(i) *Difficulties in its Determination*

The Kusāna chronological problem has always proved an enigma[36] on account of the paucity and obscurity of the data at our disposal The coins of Kusana kings do not bear any dates the inscriptions issued during their rule are dated in an unspecified era, the Indian and Tibetan religious books do not provide us with any valuable information in this connection the chronological details given by the Rājatarangini are extremely ridiculous,[37] the Greek sources are silent on this point the Chinese annals do not mention the names of Kaniska and his successors while describing the relations of China with the Yue chi kings and the Chinese Buddhist works give conflicting accounts of the date of his accession many years after the death of Buddha[38] Even the genealogical list of the kings of the Kusāna dynasty is uncertain, the pedigree of the royal family written on silk which existed in the Nagarkot fortress during the times of Alberūnī but with which he himself could not

get acquainted[39] is not now traceable Sirsukh, the city built by the Kusanas in Taxila which is likely to yield some clue to the solution of the chronological mystery has not so far been excavated, as the ancient remains lie buried deep beneath the alluvial soil on which modern buildings have been constructed and the few mounds which rise above cultivated fields are now occupied by graves ziarats (holy places for pilgrimage) and modern villages which cannot be easily disturbed [40] The question has however been discussed from the following points of view —

(a) Chinese annals histories encyclopaedias and other accounts

(b) Classical works (Greek and Roman)

(c) Indian literary sources

(b) Epigraphical material

(e) Palaeography

(f) Numismatics

(g) Archaeological discoveries

(h) Astronomical calculations

(ii) Different Theories

In the Kusana chronology so far known from epigraphic records the name of Kaniska is associated with the years 2[41] 23[4] of Vasiska with the the years 24[43] 28[44] of Huviska with the years 28[45]-60[46] of Kaniska (son of Vajheska) with the years 41[4] and of Vasudeva with the years 64[48]—98[49] There is one inscription found in the Shah ji-ki-Dheri which is dated according to Konow in the year 1 of Kaniska [50] but the reading of the date is extremely doubtful The discovery of a regular series of records dating from the year 2 Kaniska s reign makes it quite clear that he was the founder of an era in the sense that the system of reckoning which he started was continued by his successors An attempt is sometimes made to find proof of this fact in the wording of the inscription of the year 9 where the opening words are as follows —

Siddha (m) Mahārajasya Kaniskasaya rajyasamvatsare [51]

It is claimed that the phrase ' Kaniskasya rajyasamvatsare can only be rendered" in the regnal year or era of Kaniska, and that the era employed by him was therefore, that of his own reign [52] But the

term rajyasamvatsare does not carry the same connotation in all the Kusana inscriptions as it is also used in a different sense in the inscription of the year 24 with the name of Vasiska[53] in the inscription of the year 50 with the name of Huviska[54] and in the inscription of the year 84 with the name of Vasudeva[55] It is preposterous to think that those monarchs started new eras of their own and that they ruled for such long periods As a matter of fact the words samvatsare and *rajyasamvatsare* are both in the case of of the inscriptions issued during the reigns of Kaniska and his successors synonymous with the era or system of reckoning dates started by Kaniska

Sylvain Levi attacked the problem of the Kusana chronology by examining the accounts given by the Chinese annalists and placed the beginning of Kaniska s reign about 5B C[56] Trivedi made calculations from the data given in Kalhana s Rajatarangini and arrived at the ludicrous date 1356 B C for this event[57] Other scholars have discussed the problem from different premises and given the following dates for this purpose —

58 57 B C[58] 47 B C 11 B C[59] 43 A D[60] 78 A D[61] 89 A D[62] about 120 A D[63] 125 A D[64] 128 29 A D[65] 134 A D[66] 144 A D[67] 150 A D[68] 200 A D[69] 220 A D[70] and 278 A D[71]

They thus carry the initial year of Kaniska s reign over a period of 1634 years ranging from B C 1356 advocated by Triveda to A D 278 expounded by D R Bhandarkar Some writers are so much perplexed by conflicting evidence that they have often changed their views from one date to another Cunningham shifted from 57 B C to 89 A D[73] Oldenberg from 78 A D[74] to about 90 A D Smith from 78 A D[76] to 125 A D[77] again to 78 A D[78] and later to about 120 A D[79] and Konow from 134 A D[80] to 128 29 A D[81] and later to 200 A D[82] Leaving aside the incredible date given by *Trivedi we can classify the various theories which have been* propounded for the determination of the Kusana chronology as follows —

A *Theories of an Era with Omitted Hundreds*

Theories which maintain that the inscriptions of the Kusana period are dated in an era of which the hundreds are omitted

(a) The old theory of Growse and Smith that the inscriptions are dated in the Laukika era with thirty two hundred omitted[83]

According to this theory the year 5 of Kaniska's reign is equivalent to the year 32 (05) of the Laukika era or 3230 (3205—25) of the Kali Yuga or 129—130 A D The date of his accession is therefore calculated as 125 A D Smith gave up this theory later on [84]

(b) Cunningham's second theory that the inscriptions are dated in the Seleucidan era with four hundred omitted He finds support for his views in the mention of Macedonian months along the dates in some of them [85] According to him the seventh year of Kaniska would mean 407 312 or 95 A D [86] He would therefore place the accession of Kaniska at 89 A D

(c) The theory of Thomas that the era of Kaniska is connected with the Seleucidan era or the Parthian era with hundreds omitted [8] The year 3 of Kaniska would be according to him equivalent to 303 of the Seleucidan era or 203 of the Parthian era commencing in 312 B C and 248 B C respectively or 9 B C and 45 B C He would thus place the first year of Kaniska's reign at 11 B C or 47 B C

(d) R G Bhandarkar's theory that the inscriptions are dated in the Śaka era with two hundred omitted [88] He thinks that the year 5 of Kaniska should be reckoned as the year 205 of the Śaka era or 283 A D He would, thus begin the epoch of Kaniska from 278 A D He assumes that the Kusāna king referred to in the Panjtar inscription of the year 122 is Kujula Kadphises, and placing three princes—Kujula Kara Kadphises the Nameless king and Wema Kadphises—before Kaniska he again arrives at the date 200 of the Saka era *i e* 278 A D for this purpose He argues that the Kusanas should be placed near about the Guptas as the Guptas issued a gold coinage in close imitation of the former He finds a confirmation of his views in the Mathura inscription of the year 299 which he thinks should be assigned to the Saka era with two hundred omitted [89]

(e) The theory that the inscriptions are dated in the Vikrama era with one hundred omitted [90] In other words the seventh year of Kaniska's reign would be equivalent to 107 57 or 50 A D and Kaniska's accession would be placed at 43 A D

(f) The theory of Dikshit that the inscriptions are dated in the Vikrama era with two hundred omitted In other words the first year of Kaniska's reign would be equivalent to 201 *V S or 144 A D* [90a]

(g) Buhler was once of the opinion that the era of Kaniska had its starting point between 137 B C 112 B C, if the hundreds were omitted [91]

(h) Foucher suggested that the era used by Kaniska was the one which commenced in 322 B C, the hundreds to be omitted [92]

(i) Lohuizen De Leeuw believes that the Kusana inscriptions are dated in the Saka era but that in some of the Brahmi inscriptions such as those of the years 14[93] 20[94] and 22[95] the figure for one hundred is omitted It is argued that the preacher Vasula is mentioned in the inscriptions of the years 15 and 86 and as the same person could not occupy the exalted position for 71 years the figure 15 should be taken to stand for 115 [96]

(j) The theory that the incriptions are dated in the old Saka era with 200 omitted so that the year 1 of Kaniska is the year 201 of the old Śaka era which may be taken to have started in 123 B C [97] In other words, this theory puts in a new garb the old theory that the inscriptions are dated in the Saka era beginning from 78 A D

If we examine the above mentioned theories critically, we find that they are merely an outcome of the efforts made by different scholars for finding out mathematical processes involving the omission of hundreds by which they could arrive at their preconceived dates for the Kusana chronology None of them has proved that the system of reckoning by omitted hundreds existed in those times On the other hand we find many inscriptions of that period in which the hundreds are mentioned e g the Panjtar Stone inscription of the year 122[98] and the *Taxila Silver Scroll* inscription of the year *136* [99] These theories do not offer any explanation for the interpretation of such dates Moreover, the inscriptions were formal records meant for perpetuating the memory of the donors it is therefore ridiculous to expect them to be dated in ambiguous terms Further, we know from epigraphic evidence that Kaniska was the founder of an era,[100] but these theories do not provide us with any dates which mark the commencement of any well-known era excepting the Śaka era which is, however enunciated in theory (j) in a very roundabout way

Some of the dates given by these theories for the commencement of Kaniska's reign are discussed in the following pages, the dates 125 A D and 144 A D are discussed on pages 63 65, and

in Appendix 2, the date 278 A D is rejected for the reasons explained on page 62 Chinese evidence goes against the dates 47 B C -11 B C [101] and the statement of Apollonius that Taxila was under the control of a Parthian king during 43 44 A.D makes the date 43 A D untenable[102] The mention of Macedonian months in some inscriptions does not lend any support to the Seleucidan era theory for the year 89, as in most of the inscriptions the names of Indian months and seasons are used

The position adopted in the Report of the Calendar Reform Committee published by the Government of India in 1955 regarding the interpretation of dates in some Brāhmī inscriptions such as that of the year 15 is incomprehensible at one place, it is stated that the figure for one hundred is omitted in the inscriptions,[103] while at another place it is claimed that they are dated in the old Śaka era with two hundred omitted [104] It only means that obsession with the theory of omitted hundreds sometimes produces strange results There is no doubt that Laukika reckoning of Kashmir and the Kangra system or any other system of counting by omitted hundreds did not exist in India in early times, such systems were devised in the ninth or tenth century A D [105] In reality, the idea of finding out Kusana dates by such calculations is altogether illusory

B *Theories Placing Him in the 2nd Century A D*

Theories which maintain that Kaniska acceded to the throne in the second century A D , many dates are given for this purpose, 125 A D by Marshall,[106] about 120 A D by Smith,[107] 120 A D by Pandey,[108] 128-29 A D ,[109] 134 A D [110] and about 200 A D [111] by Konow, 144 A D by Ghirshman [112] 150 A D by Mankad,[113] and a date between 140 A D and 180 A D [114] by Kimura Many other scholars also subscribe to such theories, and arrive at different dates about 125 A D as some of these dates find confirmation in the astronomical data provided by the inscriptions

Marshall advances the following arguments in support of his contentions —

1 The coarse and massive diaper found in the construction of buildings belonging to the Kusana period in the Chir Stupa at Taxila came into fashion in the second century A.D.

2 The dates for the death of Kujula Kadphises and the accession of Kaniska cannot be placed at 60 and 78 respectively,

as the interval of eighteen years is all too little for the abundant and wide spread coinage of Soter Megas to say nothing of Wema Kadphises himself, Wema Kadphises succeeded his father in or about A D 78 his reign lasted till the opening years of the second century A D, after which there was an interval of a couple of decades or so before Kaniska succeeded him [115]

Sten Konow asserts that Kaniska rose to power after 125 A D, as his name is not mentioned by Chinese annalists who were well aware of the happenings in western territories down to about that date and not after that time He relies on astronomical calculations made by Van Wijk on the basis of Zeda and Und inscriptions, and concludes that the initial year of Kaniska s reign was 128 29 A D [116] In these inscriptions the naksatras current on the days when they were executed are also mentioned The Zeda inscription of the year 11 couples the naksatra Uttaraphalguni with the 20th Āshadha[117] and the Und record of the year 61 associates the naksatra Purvashādha with the 8th Chaitra [118] The only set of years within the limits set by Konow which fulfils the conditions is Kaliyuga 3240 for the Zeda inscription and 3290 for the Und inscription giving us the date 128-129 A D for the commencement of Kaniska s reign [119] The other dates relating to the second century A D can, therefore, be safely set aside

But the calculations made by Marshall and Konow are open to serious objections It is not safe to determine exactly the age of Kusana buildings from the consideration of their style Moreover, it is now generally admitted that Soter Megas was not an independent ruler but only a provincial viceroy[120], and there is nothing to prove that there was an interregnum between the reigns of Wema Kadphises and Kaniska [121] Further, no deductions should be drawn from the fact that the name of Kaniska is not mentioned in the Chinese annals before 125 A D as the Chinese annalists were never particular in mentioning the names of the Yue chi rulers[122] while describing their activities in the western countries As regards the astronomical calculations, they take for granted that Kaniska flourished in the second century A D but there is nothing definite to support this assumption Moreover, the following facts go against the views of the dates given by Konow —

1 The Sue Vihara inscription of the year 11 issued during the reign of Kaniska[123] shows clearly that the Bahawalpur area in the

Lower Indus Valley was included in his dominions during 139 40 A D, if we place the the date of his accession to the throne at 128 29 A D This territory must have thus remained under his control and that of his successor up to 156 57 A D as there was no decline of Kusana power under Vasiska and Huviska But the Junagadh inscription[114] issued during the reign of Rudradaman who was ruling as a practically independent ruler makes the categorical statements that about 150 A D Rudradaman was the lord of Sauvira and that he completely crushed the Yaudheyas Now Sauvira included the territory along the Indus about Multan[1] and the Yaudheyas resided in Rajasthan near Bahawalpur where their descendants the Johiya Rajputs are still found[16] The facts revealed by the the Sue Vihara inscription cannot be reconciled with those mentioned in the Junagadh inscription if we accept 128 129 A D as the initial year of Kaniska s reign

Similarly the sovereignty of the Kusanas over Sanchi[17] is incompatible with the overlordship of Rudradaman over Akara (East Malwa) and Avanti (West Malwa) as recorded in the Junagadh inscription if we accept the date A D 128 129 for Kaniska s accession to the throne

2 There is no well known era which started in the second century A D but we know from epigraphic evidence that Kaniska did start a regnal reckoning which was continued by his successors

The theory for the date+200 is untenable for the following reasons —

1 According to the Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, Anshi kao (A D 148 70) translated the Marga bhumi sutra of Samgharaksha who was the chaplain of Kaniska[18] Kaniska must have therefore flourished before 170 A D

2 We learn from Chinese sources that the Ta Yue chi king Po tiao sent an embassy to China in 230 A D[19] Po tiao can be easily identified with Vasudeva (II) But there was no king Vasudeva by name during the first sixty years of Kaniska s era

C *Theories Associating Him with the Foundation of an Era*

Theories which maintain that Kaniska was the founder of a well known era —

(i) *Vikrama Era*

Cunningham's first theory which was later abandoned by him that Kaniska founded the Vikrama era [130] It has found an eminent advocate in Fleet who asserts that Kaniska founded the Vikrama era in the sense that the opening years of it were the years of his reign and that he began to rule in 58 B C [131] He is supported by Kennedy[132], Luders [133] Francke[134], Barnett[135] and Mukherji [136]

Fleet relies on the Buddhist tradition of Gandhara and Kashmir as reported by Hieun Tsang who placed Kaniska 400 years after the death of Buddha[137] According to Fleet Buddha died in 483 B C ,[138] and as the statement concerning 400 years is given in round numbers he places the real date of his accession 25 years later, i e at 58 B C

Fleet claims that Kujula Kadphises and Wema Kadphises were preceded by Kaniska, Huviska and Vasudeva and that they belonged to quite a different dynasty

Kennedy assigns Kaniska to the first century B C from a study of Hellenism, and also quotes some passage from Chinese work in support of his theory —

1 Kaniska's coins have Greek legends Greek must therefore, have been understood by those that used them The disappearance of Greek as a language of every day life in the regions east of the Euphrates (except in North Mesopotamia) partly soon after the close of the first century A D forbids the hypothesis that he ruled after 100 A D It could not linger after that time in an enclave of the Punjab [139]

2 Kaniska *borrowed his Greek alphabet from the traders* of the Persian Gulf, his cursive mercantile script came from the same quarter Down to his time, Greek uncials alone were used for the Greek coin legends He begins with uncials, but presently changes to a beautiful cursive script and his successors employ this script alone This was dictated by commercial considerations, and two kings of Elam in the first century did exactly what he did His coins, therefore, must have been struck between 60 B C and 40 A D [140]

3 There is a passage in a Buddhist work Samyuktagama, quoted in a Chinese compilation of the fifth-sixth century A D which mentions four nations reigning simultaneously—the Yavanas in the north (i e Kabul) the Sakas in the south (i e Indo-Skythia) the Pahlavas in the west (i e Asia and Arachosia) and the Tusharas in the east There must therefore, have been a Tushara or Kusāna kingdom in the Punjab and at Mathura when the Greeks reigned in Kabul in the first century B C [141]

4 There is a passage in the Heou Han Chou

Tai wei wang fu mieh Tien chu, meaning—

"In his place was king again extinguished India (Punjab)". In other words "He (Wema Kadphises) succeeded him (Kujula Kadphises) on the throne and subjugated India (Punjab) again'

The Kusanas then took the Punjab a second time (fu again) Fan Ye, the author of Heou Han Chou tells us that he omits all mention of events which happened before A D 25 A Kusāna kingdom under Kaniska whose name is not mentioned by Fan Ye must therefore have existed in India which arose, flourished and fell into decay between 100 or 90 B C and 25 A D [142]

But the assumptions of Fleet and Kennedy are quite baseless Let us examine their arguments critically —

1 There are many Buddhist traditions about the date of Kaniska computed in relation to the year of Buddha's death[143], and no reliance can be placed on them While Hieun Tsang [144] and the Tibetan version of the Vinaya[145] give the date as ' four hundred years after nirvana', Hieun Tsang, at another place[146], and the Chinese Life of Vasubandhu[147] put Kaniska 500 years after Buddha's death Song yun mentions this period as 'three hundred years" and "two hundred years in different editions [148] the Khotanese Text as "one hundred years [149] and the Samyukta-ratna-pitaka as ' 700 years"[150] after Buddha s decease

2 The use of Greek in the Kusāna coin-legends does not prove anything beyond the fact that such legends were favoured by the Kusana kings We are not justified in drawing any other inference just as it is wrong to draw any conclusion about the prevalence of Latin from its use on British coins in the 20th century It is interesting to quote the remarks of Luders in this connection —

"Now before us lie a pair of foreign coins, a nickel coin from Switzerland of 1900 and a penny of 1897 The inscription on the former reads canfoederatio Helvetica On the penny stands Victoria Dei Gra Britt Regina Fid Def Ind Imp I pity the historian of the fourth millennium who will draw from the coins the conclusion that about the year 1900 Latin was the language of daily life in the mountains of Switzerland and in the British Isles [1 1]

There is no doubt that Greek script was understood in Afghanistan and the north western parts of the Kusana empire, as the Greek inscription recently discovered at Surkh Kotal[15] in North Afghanistan clearly shows It must have survived there long after A D 100 on account of the presence of Greek settlers there

2 The use of cursive forms of Greek by Kaniska has a range too wide for exact chronological inference, as is clear from the evidence of dated Seleucid and Parthian coins [153]

3 As regards the quotation from the Buddhist work Samyuktagama, we should not place much reliance on a general statement made by a monk who did not specify the countries which he meant and the period during which such a state of affairs existed Moreover Kennedy does not quote any Chinese evidence to support his bracketed interpretation of the territories associated with the north and east directions

4 The real meaning of the passage from the Heou Han Chou is that Wema Kadphises subjugated India again after it had once been conquered by foreign tribes like the Śakas

5 The contention of Fleet and Francke that the Kaniska group should be placed before the Kadphises group has been disproved by archaeological and numismatic evidence The coins of Kadphises II and Kaniṣka have been found together in many places, they frequently display in the field the same four-pronged monogram which is not found on the coins of Kujula Kadphises, and they agree accurately in weight and fineness besides exhibiting a close relationship in the obverse devices [154] Examples of the association of the coins of Wema Kadphises, Kaniska and his successors are as follows[155] —

(i) Coins of Wema Kadphises, Kaṇiska, Huviska and Vāsudeva found at Mathura [156]

(ii) Coins of Wema Kadphises, Kaniska, Huviska and a much earlier prince Ayu Mitra found in the Gopalpur stupa in Gorakhpur District[15]

(iii) A large number of copper coins of Wema Kadphises and Kaniska found at Ransi[158]

(iv) Coins of Wema Kadphises and Kaniska found at Bua Dih[159]

(v) Coins of Wema Kadphises, Kaniska, Huviska and Vasudeva found in Indore[160]

(vi) 382 copper coins of Wema Kadphises with forty copper coins of Kaniska found on the Kalka-Kasauli road[161]

(vii) Coins of Wema Kadphises, Kaniska, Huviska, Vasudeva found around Sankisa[162]

(viii) Two coins of Wema Kadphises, one of Kaniska and one of Vāsudeva found at Kanhiara[163]

(ix) Coins found by Marshall at Taxila[164]

Marshall found that the buildings at the Chir stupa occurred in four strata, one above the other and in each stratum different type of masonry was used in its construction, and with each stratum were associated coins of the kings or dynasties indicated in the following table —

	Stratum	*Masonry Construction*	*Coins*
(1)	Upper-most	Semi-ashlar, semi-diaper	Vasudeva and Later Kusānas
(2)	Second	Large diaper	Kaniṣka, Huviska and Vasudeva
(3)	Third	Small diaper	Kadphises I and II
(4)	Fourth	Rubble and Kanjur	Śakas and Pahlavas

In the city of Sirkap also precisely the same stratification was found, so far as the third, fourth and earlier strata were concerned but the city was deserted before any buildings of the second and first classes came to be erected, and consequently there were no coins there of Kaniska, Huviska and Vasudeva, but thousands, on the other hand, of those of Kadphises I and II, of the Śaka and Pahlava kings and of the Greeks[165]

The inevitable inference from the above-mentioned collocations of coins is that Kadphises II and Kaniska were very near in time to one another—in fact, that one immediately followed the other Now Kadphises II was, according to Fan Ye, the son of Kadphises I [166] If the group of kings comprising Kaniska, Vāsiska, Huviska and Vasudeva had preceded Kadphises I, the coins of Vasudeva and Kadphises I should have been found together, as they are not, and those of Kadphises II and Kaniṣka should not have been associated, as they actually are

6 Kujula Kadphises coined little gold,[167] but Wema Kadphises Kaniska and his successors issued an extensive gold coinage [168] If Kujula Kadphises had not preceded these kings, it is natural to expect that he would have followed their example in this respect

7 Kujula Kadphises was the first king of the Kusana dynasty [169] Kaniska and his successors also belonged to the same dynasty, as they call themselves "Koshano" in their coin legends [170] They, therefore, must have followed Kujula Kadphises and his son, Wema Kadphises

8 The early foreign rulers issued coins with legends in two scripts—Greek on the obverse and Kharoshthi on the reverse Kujula Kadphises and Wema Kadphises followed their example,[171] but Kaniska and his successors issued coins with Greek legends only [1°]

(ii) *Traikutaka, Kalachuri or Chedi Era*

The theory that Kaniska founded the Traikutaka, Kalachuri or Chedi era, the initial point of which falls in A D 248 49 and that he acceded to the throne in about A D 220

This theory is propounded by R C Majumdar [173] He quotes Fan Ye who, in the course of his description of India, says At this time all these kingdoms were subject to the Yue chi,' and argues that the phrase 'at this time must refer to the closing years of the period with which Fan Ye dealt, i e A D 220 He finds corroboration of his theory in the statement of Yu-Houan the author of Wei lio, that the kingdoms of Kipin, Tahia, Kaofu and Tien tchou were all subordinate to the Yue chi, insisting that such a state of affairs could have existed only during the rule of the early Kuṣāṇas and not later Kusanas, and as Yu houan describes events covering the period A D 227-39, Kaniska must have come to

the throne in about A D 220 He cites epigraphic, palaeographic and numismatic arguments in support of his views, and thinks that Kaniska founded the Kalachuri era of 248 49 A D

But this theory has found very few supporters, as it places the date of Kaniska s accession at a very late date The Chinese evidence quoted by him admits of many interpretations and the following facts go conclusively against his theory —

1 According to the Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, Anshi-kao (A D 148-70) translated the Mārga-bhūmi sutra of Samgharaksha who was the chaplain of Kaniska Kaniska must have, therefore, flourished before A D 170 [174]

2 We know from Chinese evidence that Kujula Kadphises came to the throne in the first century B C and that he was succeeded by Wema Kadphises,[175] and the archaeological excavations at Taxila show clearly that they were followed by Kaniska and his successors [176] But Majumdar's theory leaves a very wide gap between the reigns of Wema Kadphises and Kaniska

3 According to Chinese sources, the Yue-chi king Po-tiao sent an embassy to China in 230 A D [177] and Pa-tiao has been identified with Vasudeva (II) But according to Majumdar's theory, Kaniska was ruling in 230 A D

4 The Mathura Jain Image inscription of the year 98 was issued during the reign of Vāsudeva[178], it means that Mathura was under his control during A D 346 47, if the date is interpreted according to the Kalachuri era But the Mathura Pillar inscription of the year 61 of the Gupta era corresponding to A D 380 issued during the reign of Chandragupta II[179] shows that Mathura had come under the rule of the Guptas before this date The period allowed for the reign of the seven Nāga kings who, according to the Vayu Purana ruled over Mathura before the advent of the Guptas is too short

(iii) *Saka Era*

The theory put forward by Fergusson[180] and Oldenberg[181] that Kaniska founded the Śaka era beginning from 78 A D Oldenberg later changed his views[182], but the theory is supported by Waddel[183], Rapson[184] Thomas[185], Banerji[186], Tarn[187], Bachhofer[188], Haricharan Ghosh[189], Raychaudhri[190], Lohuizen-De Leeuw[191] and Sircar[192], even though it has been subjected to severe criticism by some writers

Most of the arguments which Oldenberg advanced in its support were very vague, and some of them were quite ridiculous He thought that the title "Gushanavasasamvardhaka" applied to Kaniska[193], while, in reality, it applied to General Lala[194] He gave a novel interpretation to Hieun Tsang's statement that Kaniska lived 400 years after Buddha's death by taking it to mean that he flourished 300 years after Asoka's death on the grounds that Hieun Tsang placed Asoka one hundred years after Buddha s death[195] But if we consider the problem dispassionately, we shall have to admit that Oldenberg arrived at a date (78 A D) which is approximately correct[196] and even if Kaniska did not formally found the Śaka era his name has rightly been associated with it in the sense that the regnal reckoning of dates which he started in 79 A D[197] later came to be known as the Śaka era[198]

(a) Chinese Evidence

1 We cannot rely on the accounts written by Chinese Buddhist writers for solving this problem, as they give different dates for this purpose reckoned in round numbers from the date of the Buddha s death But if we calculate the Kusana chronology from the dates given in ancient Chinese annals we find that Kujula Kadphises attacked the other principalities in Tahia about 10 B C[199] and that he was succeeded by Wema Kadphises in about 50 A D Kaniṣka came to the throne immedietelv after the death of Wema Kadphises in 79 A D[200]

2 Two Chinese historical and religious texts while describing the introduction of Buddhism into China mention the fact that the Emperor Ming of the Eastern Han dynasty sent an embassy to India to inquire about Buddhism and the limiting dates for the sending of the embassy and its return to China are given between 61 A D and 75 A D[201] A comparison of the texts leaves little room for doubt that India at that time was governed by the Yue chi, and the Yue chi king who is referred to was not Kaniska but Wema Kadphises[202], as otherwise the Buddhist texts would not have missed the chance of associating the name of the great Buddhist patron, Kaniska with the formal introduction of Buddhism into China

3 The fact that Kaniska was ruling in 90 A D is demonstrated in the discussion on the account given in the Heou Han Chou regarding the expedition organised by a Yue chi king against the Chinese commander, Pan chao[203]

(b) Numismatic Evidence

1 The extensive issue of gold coinage under Wema Kadphises and Kaniska was due to the influx of Roman gold in India in the first century A D [201] during which these kings flourished

2 Leaving aside the double staters the heaviest gold coins of Wema Kadphises[205] and Kaniska[206] weigh 123 2 gr, of Huviska 125 5 gr [207] and of Vasudeva 126 gr [208] according to the catalogue compiled by Gardner They approximate in weight to the Roman aurei (124 gr) first minted in great quantities under Augustus (B C 27—A D 14). These Kusana kings who adopted the standard followed by Augustus came to the throne after 27 B C

3 There is a great similarity between the coins of Kujula Kadphises and Augustus (B C 27—A D 14), especially regarding the portrayal of their heads [209] It shows that Kujula Kadphises issued his coinage about the beginning of the first century A D or after that period.

(c) Archaeological Evidence

1 The collocation of the coins of Wema Kadphises, Kaniska Huviska and Vasudeva but not those of Kujula Kadphises in the Gopalpur stupa and other places which have been excavated makes it quite clear that Kujula Kadphises and Wema Kadphises preceded Kaniska, Huviska and Vasudeva[210]

2 The stratification of the ruins at the Chir stupa and Sirkap in Taxila examined by Marshall also provides an ample proof of the above mentioned fact [211] Marshall s conjectures regarding the age of buildings from the considerations of style and material are, however debatable, and his conclusions cannot be regarded as conclusive, but his views regarding the posterity of Kaniska Huviska and Vasudeva to Kujula Kadphises and Wema Kadphises deserve general acceptance as they are supported by other facts [212]

(d) Palaeographic Evidence

Palaeographic evidence is often very controversial and some specialists show acute differences in their points of view, when they try to fix the date of an inscription on palaeographic grounds only This evidence can, however, be accepted to corroborate other kinds of evidence As regards the date of the Kharoshthi script used in the inscriptions of the Kusana period Buhler who has made a keen

study of this subject divides the Kharoshthi script into four periods.[13] —

1 The Maurya 4th century and 3rd century B C

2 Variety of the 2nd century and first century B C on the coins of the Indo Greek kings

3 Variety of the Śaka period first century B C to 1st century A D, on the Taxila Copper Plate of Patika and on the Lion Capital of the Satrap Sodas from Mathura and on the coins of Śaka and Kusāna kings

4 Strongly cursive script of the first century and second century A D which begins with Takht-i Bahi inscription of Gondopharnes and is fully developed in the inscriptions of Vāsiska and Huviska Kaniska should, therefore, be placed in the first century A D

Vogel has also expressed similar views He states that the similarity between the script of the Mathura Satraps and that of the early years of Kaniska is so striking that the two can be hardly separated by more than one century, and that if the former are placed in the first century B C, palaeographic evidence would point to the conclusion that the commencement of Kaniska's reign has been rightly supposed to fall in the first century A D.[14]

(e) *Astronomical Evidence*

The Zeda inscription of the year 11 was executed on 20th Āshādha,[15] and the Und inscription of the year 61 on 8th Chaitra [16] These inscriptions also mention the naksatras on the days when they were executed the former is associated with Uttaraphālguni and the latter with Pūrvashādha Calculating according to the Siddhāntas, Wijk found out that if the starting points of these dates are taken as 79 A D, 117 A D, 134 A D [17] or 128-29 A.D,[18] the above-mentioned astronomical conditions are satisfied Ghosh also demonstrated that the Uttaraphālguni naksatra occurred on 20th Āshadha, 89 A D [19] It means that Kaniska ascended the throne in 79 A D, and that this date corresponds with the year one of his reign and that of the Śaka era, if the years are counted as elapsed.

Let us now consider some of the arguments which are generally advanced against this theory —

1 Kaniska was not a Śaka and he could not be the originator of the Śaka era which was founded by a Śaka king (Sagaraya) according to the Kālakāchāryakathānaka and other Jain legends[220] Kalhana and Alberuni call him a Turk and this view is corroborated by his Turkish dress and features

2 Kaniska was not the first king who established the independence of the Kusānas

3 The ruler who was responsible for the foundation of the Śaka era was not Kaniska but some other person—Wema Kadphises according to Konow[221] Nahapāna according to Bhau Daji[222] and Boyer[223] Chashtana according to Jouveau-Dubreuil,[224] and Vonones according to Bhandarkar.[225]

4 Alberūnī[226] (11th Century A D) and some other writers such as Bhattotpala (10th century A D[227]) associate the commencement of the Śaka era with the destruction of a Śaka king by Vikramāditya and not with the accession of Kaniska

5 Kaniska could not have been the powerful king of the Yue-chi at the apogie of his reign and power whose troops were defeated by the Chinese general, Pan chao in 90 A.D

6 The Yue-chi king Po-tiao who sent an embassy to China in A D. 229-30 and the Kuṣāna king called by the Armenian chronicler Moses of Khorene "Vehsadjan" who fought with Khosroes of Armenia against Ardashir in 227 A D are both identified by Ghirshman with Vāsudeva I.[228] Kaniska's date of accession cannot, therefore, be placed in the 1st century A D

7 The coins of Vāsudeva I were the latest which were found at Begrām The city was destroyed by Shapur I between A D. 241 and 250 and Vāsudeva is known to have reigned from the year 74 to 98 of the Kaniska era , and thus Kaniska's accession to the throne would be ~~placed at 144 A D~~[229]

8 The Surkh Kotal inscription bearing the date 275 should be interpreted in terms of the Indo-Bactrian era commencing from 155 B C . thereby placing the date of the inscription at 120 A D The new date should fall before the commencement of the Kaniska era, and therefore cannot be 78 A D[230]

But these arguments do not carry much weight they can be easily refuted —

1 Kanishka was not a Turk but a Kusana, and the Indians did not make any distinction between the Kusānas and the Śakas the word Śaka as used in India was a generic term, and not specific Moreover, Kaniska did not call his regnal reckoning as Śaka era this name became popular many centuries after it had been used by his successors and the Śaka Satraps of Western India who were originally the feudatories of the Kusanas The continued use of the era by the Saka kings long after the decline of the Kusāna power accounts for its well-known name the Śaka era

2 It is not essential for the founder of an era to be the first to establish the independence of a dynasty Harsavardhana established a new era, but he was not the founder of the independent rule of the Thanesar dynasty

3 Wema Kadphises could not be the founder of the Śaka era, the epigraphic evidence is clear on this point"[31] Nahapana and Chashtana could not establish a new era of their own, as they were feudatories (Mahaksatrapas)"[32] they used the era of their overlords the Kusanas The name of Vonones cannot be associated with the commencement of the Śaka era as he was a Parthian viceroy who lived long before Gondophares whose date is generally accepted as A D 20 46

4 Alberūnī wrote his account many centuries after the commencement of the Śaka era, and he seems to have mixed up many legends about the commencement of different eras For instance, he makes a wrong statement about the origin of the Gupta era, "People say that the Guptas were wicked powerful people, and that when they ceased to exist, the date was used as an epoch of an era'"[33] Some other writers have also committed a similar blunder we cannot have any faith in these stories It is ridiculous to suggest that the Śaka Satraps of Western India should have used an era which commemorated "their destruction at the hand of Vikramaditya in 78 A D"[34]

5 There is no doubt that Kaniska's armies suffered reverses in the war against the Chinese"[35] even the strongest rulers sometimes face defeats

6 It was Vasudeva II and not Vāsudeva I who sent an embassy to China and fought against Ardashir There is good numismatic evidence to prove that the successors of Vasudeva I continued to rule over the Kabul valley and Sistan long after his death"

7 There is not the slightest evidence to prove that Shapur was responsible for the destruction of Begram or that it was destroyed at the end of the reign of Vasudeva I

8 It is not certain that the Surkh Kotal Inscription of the year 275 is dated in the Indo Bactrian era commencing from 155 B C and that it was cut before the commencement of the Kaniska era

It is therefore quite reasonable to associate the commencement of the Śaka era with the accession of Kaniska to the throne in 79 A D

He ruled for 23 years as is quite evident from epigraphic evidence [36] His reign therefore lasted from 79 A D to 101 A D

HIS CONQUESTS

He was very ambitious and was bent upon extending the boundaries of his empire [3] He maintained a large army and was helped in his designs by his Prime Minister Mathara (Mo tcha lo) who laid great stress on secret military planning for the achievement of his object [38]

(a) War with Parthia

According to the Fou fa tsang in iuen king [39] a Chinese translation of a Buddhist text, he waged a war against Ngan si (Parthia) whose ruler was stupid and of a violent nature and had attacked his territories [40] The name of the Parthian king is not given but he was undoubtedly Pacorus (A D 77 105) who had a disturbed reign [41] Pacorus was thoroughly defeated and had to suffer heavy losses Kaniska wreaked a terrible vengeance against him for his aggression and killed hundreds of his men.[41] The slaughter of so many people soon filled his mind with remorse but his desire for conquests was not satisfied

(b) Conquest of Pataliputra

He turned towards Pataliputra (Hoa chen) which was a thickly populated city He defeated its king and accepted three valuable Buddhist objects of veneration—Ma ming (Asvaghosa), the Buddha s wooden bowl and a miraculous cock—in lieu of a war idemnity of nine hundred thousand gold pieces [13]

It may look strange that Kaniska was satisfied with these three objects as war indemnity but if we consider the miraculous

powers which were attributed to them we need not doubt the veracity of the Buddhist legend

Asvaghosa soon brought about a great change in his life He caused him to visualize the torments of hell for his sins, and advised him to embrace Buddhism if he wanted to escape this punishment [44] He gladly accepted the advice and became a Buddhist

The story of the conquest of Eastern India and his great love for Buddhism is also related in the Sutralamkara [45]

But the adoption of Buddhism did not deter him from pursuing his career of conquests The new faith promised him forgiveness, if he worshipped the Buddha gave alms kept prohibitions built monasteries and gave food to the poor [46]

(c) *West Bengal and Orissa*

There is no doubt that the Eastern India which he conquered was not confined to Magadha it included West Bengal and Orissa A large number of copper coins of the Kusana kings have been found at Tamluk in Midnapur District [47] Mayurbhanj District of Orissa [48] and Sisupalgarh [49] showing that these areas were included in the Kusana empire as copper coins could only be meant for local circulation within the limits of the empire and there was no fun of carrying them to foreign territories Moreover the discovery of numerous coins at Puri and Ganjam bearing a close resemblance to those of Kaniska depicting him with his right hand over an altar on the obverse and a deity on the reverse [50] suggests plainly that they were copies of those coins which must have been in circulation in that area during his reign The theory that they might have been brought there for religious offerings by pilgrims is not justified as some of them have frills of metal from edges of moulds still attached to them [51] indicating the location of a local mint for their manufacture

(d) *Sind*

The lower Sutlej valley and upper Sind were included in his empire before 89 A.D as the inscription of the year 11 which was found at Sue Vihara was issued during his reign [52] Lower Sind was probably brought under his control three glazed fragments of pottery numbered B 15, D 29 and B 30 with Kharoshthi characters belonging to his period have been discovered at Mohen jo daro [53]

It was not difficult for him to conquer this area, as it was torn by strife between Parthian princes"[54] The Fou fa tsang in iuen tchou also makes it quite clear that he turned to the north after bringing the three regions into subjection"[55] suggesting the extension of his empire towards Sue Vihara Mālwā and Saurashtra were ruled by Śaka Ksatrapas who acknowledged his supremacy used Kharoshthī as one of the scripts and employed his system of reckoning dates in their inscriptions[56]

(e) *Baltistan*

Francke considers that Baltistan was also brought under the sovereignty of the Kusanas, and that the title 'A-ma chah'' (Amātya) which the very first of the Dukes of Shigar assumed must have been conferred by Kaniska[257] There is no doubt that the title is an Indian title and was used by some ministers and viceroys of Saka rulers—by Ayam the minister of Mahaksatrapa"[58] Nahapāna and by Kulaipa, the viceroy of Gujarat under Mahāksatrapa Rudra dāman"[59]—and its assumption by the rulers of Baltistan indicated their acknowledgement of the Kusana overlordship.

(f) *Expedition to the North*

The empire of Kaniska now extended from Kashmir to Sind and Saurashtra and from Bactria to West Bengal and Orissa The north i e Turkestan still remained unsubdued It was under the control of the Chinese The victorious campaign of Pan chao who was working as an efficient Deptuy Commander of the Chinese forces under Ton ku had restored this territory called Si-Yu (Western Provinces) to the Chinese Empire during the reign of Ming ti (A D 58 75)"[60] By 73 A D, the king of Khotan had made his submission and several kings of that country followed his example, and gave their eldest sons as hostages for their fidelity"[61] But a considerable part of Turkestan fell away from China during the reign of the Emperor Chang ti (A D 76 88) who reversed the policy of his predecessor and followed an isolationist policy"[62] The Yue chi who had helped the Chinese in invading Kiu che (Uch Turfan)[63] and rendered them signal services now found a chance to extend their power In 88 A D they became bold enough to demand in marriage a princess of the House of Han"[64] When Pan chao treated their ambassador with contempt, arrested him and sent him back, their viceroy Sie crossed the Tsong ling[265] at the head of 16000 soldiers to attack

Pan-chao but his expedition failed completely on account of the difficulties of the terrain which his army had to cross, the shortage of supplies and the vigilance of the Chinese commander who was now again being helped by the Chinese court where the mother of young emperor Ho-ti (A D 89 103) had taken over the government during her son's minority As she was a member of the family of Ton-ku[266], she wanted to bring to a successful conclusion the campaign started by the members of her family [267] The expedition is well described in the biography of Pan chao in the Heou Han Chou but the name of the Yue chi king is not mentioned —

"Formerly the Yue chi had aided the Chinese in invading Kiu che (Uch Turfan) and rendered them signal services this year (88 A D) they offered as tributes precious stones fou pa and lions *they took this occasion for demanding in marriage a princess of the* House of Han Pan chao arrested and sent back the ambassador, from this moment there was anxiety and resentment (between the Yue chi and the Chinese) In the second year (Yong Yuan 90 A D) the Yue chi sent their viceroy Sie at the head of 16000 soldiers to attack (Pan) chao the army of (Pan)-chao was small in number and was much afraid, (Pan)-chao appeared before the military forces and said, 'Though the soldiers of the Yue-chi are numerous, they have travelled several thousand li from home in crossing the Tsong ling they have not convoys of stores is that trouble enough to be unquiet? Let us confine ourselves to getting all the cereals and to guarding them well The invaders would be famished and exhausted and would submit themselves, in some dozens of days at most everything will be finished' Sie however advanced and attacked (Pan)-chao but could not subjugate him, besides he could get nothing by pillage (Pan) chao calculating that the rations of Sie were going to be exhausted and certainly he (Sie) would ask Kieou tseu (Kucha) to help despatched several hundreds of soldiers to the eastern territory to wait in the way of the Yue chi as a matter of fact, Sie sent horse men who carried gold, silver, pearls and precious stones for making a present of them to Kieou tseu (Kucha) the soldiers of (Pan) chao who were in ambush barred their way, attacked and killed them all, they took the head of the ambassador to show it to Sie, he became greatly afraid and delegated an embassy for admitting his fault and expressing his desire to go back safe and sound (Pan)-chao let him

go and he returned From that moment, the Yue-chi were greatly fear stricken and offered every tribute and present [268]

According to the system of the Kusana chronology which we have adopted, Kaniska was the Yue-chi king who was ruling in India[269] when the Yue chi came into conflict with Pan chao But some writers think that it could not be Kaniska at the apogie of his reign and power who would consent to such humiliation at the hands of the Chinese [270] and that the Chinese annalists of Heou Han Chou would have surely mentioned his name with pride, if he had been involved in the war They therefore assert that it was Wema Kadphises who failed miserably in this expedition But these arguments are untenable Kaniska s name appears prominent in the writings of the Chinese Buddhist scholars only it is not mentioned by the contemporary Chinese historians But the name of Wema Kadphises was quite familiar to the writer of the Heou Han Chou from which the above passage is taken and he would not have failed to associate it with the northern expedition if Wema Kadphises had been concerned in this affair Moreover, there are two traditions given in the Samyukta-ratna pitaka and the Fou-fa tsang in iuen tchou translated into Chinese in 472 A D which definitely mention the name of Kaniska with the abortive northern expedition The account in the Samyukta ratna-pitaka runs as follows —

At the time when the king Tchen tan ki-ni tcha (Devaputra Kaniska) reigned in the kingdom of the Yue chi there were three hundred men whom the king considered as his intimate friends, the first was called Ma ming Pousa (Asvaghosa Boddhisattva), the second, who was Prime Minister was called Ma tcha lo (Mathara); the third was a famous physician named Che lo-kia (Charaka) These three intimate friends of the king were treated with honour and liberality When he was on a journey or when he was resting, they were on his right hand and on his left Then follows the advice given by each of these counsellors to the king The advice of the Prime Minister was If the king puts in practice the secret counsels of his servant without divulging them, the entire world can be submitted to his empire This advice was followed, and there was no one who did not submit to his authority In the world three of the four regions were at peace Only the northern region

(Sinkiang) had not yet come to submit itself and to demand protection

"Soon he equipped a formidable army to go to chastise it In front he made the Hou (barbarians) march, and white elephants as head of the column and as guides The king followed and he led his army behind He wished to go as far as Tsong ling In crossing the passes, those who rode the elephants and the horses in front could not advance any longer The king in his surprise let out the secret of his expedition, and his minister warned him that, as he had done so, death was near The king understood, and as in his wars he had slain more than three hundred thousand men, he was troubled at the thought of the punishment awaiting him So he confessed his fault and repented, gave alms, kept prohibition, built a monastery, and gave food to the monks. His courtiers represented to him that his past had been so bad that these good works would not now profit him The king had a large pot boiled, and threw his ring into it, and allegorically convinced the courtiers of their error [271] They rejoiced at his wisdom "[272]

The story takes the following form in the Fou fa-tsang-in iuen-tchou —

"There was a minister named Mo-chouan-lo (Māthara) He told Ki-ni-tcha (Kaniska) that if he followed his advice without divulging it, all the earth would be subject to him 'The eight regions will take refuge in thy virtue ' The king promised to do so the minister chose good Generals, equipped the four forces and the peoples of the three regions were subdued Then the king let out that he intended to conquer the northern region and his people hearing this took counsel among themselves 'The king is greedy and unreasonable his campaign and frequent conquests have fatigued the mass of his servants He cannot be contented He wants to reign over the four regions The garrisons cover distant frontiers, and our relatives are far from us As such is the case, we must all agree to get rid of him After that, we shall be able to be happy ' As the king was ill they put up a blanket over him, a man sat upon it and the king expired at once

"Because he had heard Ma-ming (Asvaghosa) expound the law, he was born as a thousand-headed fish in the great ocean but in consequence of his deeds, his heads were constantly cut off and thus he was tortured horribly in successive existences for an unmea-

surable time There was however an Arhat who among monks was the Wei na (*Karmadana*, bell ringed) The king told him that while the bell was rung his sufferings were alleviated, and he asked the bhadanta in charity to prolong the ringing This was done, and at the end of seven days the evil which had lasted so long ceased On account of the king the bell on the top of this monastery was continually rung, and this practice is kept up now "[3]

We cannot accept all the details given in these stories, as they were written by Buddhist monks who wanted to exalt the importance of their religion But if we read these stories critically, the following facts stand out clearly —

1 That it was Kaniska who organized an expedition to Sinkiang by sending a large army including elephants and horses across the Tsong ling mountains

2 That he used to keep his military plans secret as advised by his Prime Minister, but in the case of this expedition, he divulged the secret to others and lost the advantage of catching the enemy unprepared

3 That his army had to encounter great difficulties in crossing the Tsong ling mountains "those who rode the elephants and the horses in front would not advance any longer " Pan-chao had also counted on these factors for his success against Kaniska's forces [2-4]

4 That the expedition proved a complete failure

5 That there was a serious mental conflict between his ambitions and his religious beliefs He sought to resolve this conflict by pursuing his aims of territorial aggrandisement but at the same time giving alms keeping the prohibitions, building monasteries giving food to the monks and ordering the ringing of bells in a monastery for the consolation of his soul

6 That the people were fed up with his constant warfare and ultimately smothered him to death [2-5] But the story of his murder taking place during the course of his campaign which was, according to the more reliable version of the Chinese annalist led by his commander Sie in 90 A D is evidently wrong as he continued to rule long after this period

As regards the description about his rebirths as a many-headed fish it is purely a figment of the Buddhist author's imagination

Pan-chao was able to conquer the whole of Sinkiang again in 94 A D, he was able to secure Karashahr[76] and Kucha The Chinese continued to keep a strong hold over Sinkiang till his death in 102 A D[277] Kaniska could have, therefore been able to exercise some influence over the States in Sinkiang during the period A D 79-88 only,[278] but he was never able to conquer them, as he died in 101 A D[279] *Consequently, there is no justification* for the statement so often made by many historians that he conquered and retained under his control Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan

HIS COINAGE

Kaniska issued an extensive gold and copper coinage, of stater and quarter of a stater size

The most common type shows him standing at altar on the obverse and a Greek Iranian or Indian deity on the reverse[280] The king is bearded, wearing a peaked cap (or diadem), helmet coat trousers and cloak,[281] with flames rising from his shoulders,[282] grasping in the left hand a spear, and in the right hand an elephant goad over an altar He has a sword at his waist[283] In some cases his right hand does not hold an elephant-goad, but is simply extended over the altar[284] The king is represented only by his bust (half or quarter length portrait), wearing diadem and helmet, his left hand raised, holding a spear, his body emerging *from clouds*[285] *Brown also refers to some rare copper coins* depicting him seated on a throne[286] His dress is typical of the martial race to which he belonged, and the performance of sacrifice at the altar exhibits his adoption of the mode of worship which was common to India and Iran

We find the following deities portrayed on the reverse of his coins where the monogram is displayed —

Greek	*Iranian*	*Indian*
Helios	Arooaspo	Ardokhsho
Nana or Nanaia	Athsho	Siva (Oksho or Oesho)
Salene (Selene)	Mao	Buddha
	Miiro	
	Nana	
	Oado	
	Orlagno	
	Pharro	

They are represented as follows —

Helios [28] Legend HΛΙΟC left, diadem, clad in chiton and himation, radiate disk behind head, r hand advanced, l on hip [288]

Nana or Nanashao or Nanaia [289] Legends NANA or NANA PAO or NANAIA, right, nimbate and diadem, head surmounted by crescent holds sceptre ending in forepart of horse and patera [290]

Salene [91] Legend CAΛHNH, left, diadem, clad in chiton and himation crescent behind shoulders, r hand advanced, holds a long sceptre bound with fillet, sword girt round waist [292]

Arooaspo [293] Legend APOOACΠO Bearded deity clad in sleeved tunic, holds a wreath in r hand, beside him a saddled trotting horse [294]

Athsho [95] Legend AΘPO Bearded deity, diadem, clad in long gown and robe holding fillet or wreath in extended r hand and tongs in l hand which rests on hip, flames rising from shoulders [96]

Mao [29] Legend MAO male deity diadem, clad in chiton and himation, crescent behind shoulders, r hand advanced holds in l hand sceptre bound with fillet, sword girt round waist [298]

Miiro or Mioro [299] Legends MIIPO, MEIPO, MIOPO MIYPO Diadem and radiate disk to l r hand advanced, in l sceptre bound with fillet, sword girt round waist [300]

Oado [01] Legend OAΔO

Running fast to l with loose hair and both hands raised, holding up his robe floating in the wind [302]

Orlagno [03] Legend OPΛAΓNO Right, wearing diadem, helmet surmounted by the bird Garuda, and clad like the king, holds in r hand spear, in l hand sword [304]

Pharro [305] Legend ΦAPPO Male deity to r diadem and nimbate clad in chiton and himation holds spear in l hand and fire in the r [30]

Ardolsho [307] Legend APΔOXPO Female deity clad in chiton and himation, holds cornucopiae [308]

or

Goddess seated facing on throne nimbate foot stool under feet, holds wreath and cornucopiae [309]

Śiva Two armed or four armed Indian god in various poses

Two armed, standing facing grasping spear with r hand l hand hanging down holds club Legend OHPO (Oesho) [310]

Two armed standing before the bull Nandi noose in r hand trident in l flaming nimbus Legend OHPO (Oesho) [311]

or

Four armed facing with head l holding in u r hand vajra (thunderbolt) in l r hand a water vessel with mouth downwards in u l hand trident l l hand on hips Antelope on its hind legs in r field Legend OHPO (Oesho) [1]

or

Four armed standing l holding in u r hand thunderbolt *in l r hand noose in u l hand trident* and with l l arm hanging down Legend PO (sho) [313]

or

Four armed l nimbate holding in his hands a vase a drum a trident a goat (the last by the horns) Legened OKPO (Oksho) [314]

or

Four armed l nimbate holding in his hands a vase a drum a trident and a wreath Legend OKPO (Oksho) [1]

Buddha Legends BO△△O (Boddo) or CAKA MANO BOY△O (Sakamano Boudo or Sakyamuni Buddha)

Buddha facing nimbate clad in chiton and himation r hand raised l hand holding robe [316]

or

Buddha seated cross legged on small stool (chowki) with broad feet r hand near the chest in abhaya mudra (pose for conferring blessings) l hand with the clenched fist resting on the thigh head nimbate traces of drapery on both shoulders border of dots [31]

Excepting Nanaia (who is also found in Iranian mythology) the Greek deities are seldom found on his coin types but the Iranian and Indian gods and goddesses appear very frequently

Their diversity reflects the current religious practices of his subjects who included Indians Iranians and Greeks [3 8] It also shows his eclectic frame of mind which tolerated all these practices

and which allowed him to take part in them in spite of the fact that he had become an ardent Buddhist at an early stage of his reign [319]

He used only Greek script on his coins and discarded altogether the Kharoshthi alphabet for this purpose [320] The abandonment of Kharoshthi by him and his successors on their coins is significant it was due to the fact that his coins were meant for circulation throughout his vast empire which included not only North West India (where Kharoshthi was understood and used for local inscriptions even during his reign and that of his successors)[321] but it also comprised many parts of Northern India where Brahmi was extensively employed Moreover Kharoshthi was given an inferior status by the Kusana emperors on the coinage of his predecessors it was used on the reverse and not on the obverse side [322] and in the case of joint issues, it was employed by rulers of subordinate rank [323]

As regards language his coins can be divided into two classes —

Class I in which the legends are in Greek language The number of such coins is not very large In the British Museum catalogue of the coins of India of the Indo Scythian kings there are only four coins of Kaniska which read on the obverse BACIΛEYC BACIΛEWN KANHPKOY [324] (Basileus Basileon Kaniska) King of kings Kaniska and on the reverse appears in one case CAΛHNH [325] (Salene or Selene) the Moon deity and in another HΛIOC [326] (Helios) the Sun deity

Class II in which the legends are in an old Iranian language but in Greek script Most of his coins belong to this type The legend on the obverse of his gold coins is PAONANO PAO KANHPKI KOPANO [327] (Shaonano Shao Kaneshki Koshano) the King of Kings the Kusana and on the obverse of his bronze or copper coins it is PAO KANHPKI (Shao Kaneshki) King Kaniska [328]

HIS RELIGION

A study of his coins makes it quite clear that he had an eclectic frame of mind, and worshipped a variety of Indian Iranian and Greek deities The Buddha was now worshipped as an Indian deity according to the Mahayana creed The number of coins bearing the purely Greek deities are very few in number and all of

them bear legends in Greek language. They are the earliest of his pieces, as we find that the Greek language completely disappears on the later issues of Kaniṣka and his successors. The Greek gods also do not make any further appearance, which means that he worshipped them at the beginning of his reign but that they soon lost their charm for him and he became enamoured of the Iranian and Indian deities. Even after his conversion to Buddhism, he retained his liberal views, and continued to worship at the fire altar throughout his reign.

(a) Conversion to Buddhism and Construction of a Stūpa at Purushapura

He became an ardent Buddhist, and many legends are related about him in the Buddhist chronicles of different countries. Most of them are agreed that he was not a follower of this religion at the time of his accession to the throne, and that he was a ruthless ruler who was responsible for the killing of many men and animals. There are many versions of the story of his conversion to Buddhism and the construction of a stūpa and a monastery at Purushapura in honour of his new faith. Some of them are simply fantastic, but they are mentioned here, because they were seriously believed by the Buddhists of those times and they relate some historical facts.

(i) *Khotanese Version*

In the Khotanese manuscripts from Tun-huang now in the Pelliot Collection at the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, a fragment of such a legend of Kaniska has been found. In the first three lines in Sanskrit of P 2787, it is stated[329] —

'As it has been heard in the period of four hundred years[330] the Bhagavan had entered into Bodhi (illumination) in the kingdom of Bahlaka[331] (Balkh) there was a king Devaputra Kaniska by name destroyer (?) of his enemies' forces, foretold by the Buddha.[332]

The detailed account is given in Khotanese —

So it has been heard when the Buddha had entered Nirvana,[333] within that period one hundred years had passed.[334] At that time in the kingdom of Balaka[335] in Tokharistan,[336] there arose in the family of the imperial rulers, a brave, meritorious, intelligent king of Jambudvipa, foretold by the Buddha in person, by name Devaputra Kaniska.

'The King with many hundred thousands of troops and relying on his own bodily strength was in command of the continent of Jambudvipa.[337] Many men and animals by his command lost their lives.

"At another time, the king through his spiritual advisers, attained to faith in the teaching of the Buddha and to purity of mind. He rejected false views and in reliance upon true views he abstained from evil day by day he produced important extensive favourable roots of merit in the Three Jewels.[338] So with the passing of time this king accompanied by his four divisioned army came to the district of Gandhara.[339] A desire thus arose in him, 'I will build in this region a large and vast stupa.[340] I will fill it with the four fold requisites where the Buddha-sons gone forth (=Skt pravrajita) shall strive for deliverance.

At that time the four world-regents (lokapalas) learnt the mind of the king. So for his sake they took the form of young boys. So for his sake the boys began a stupa of mud in that region. When the king saw the boys he asked 'What are you doing?' So the boys said to him, 'We are making the Kaniska-stupa.' The king spoke with them he said 'Who is he who ordered you saying you should build the Kaniska stupa?'

At that time those boys changed their form, on foot the four world-regents stood before him. When the king saw those world regents trembling greatly, he dismounted from his horse. Before them standing humbly he stood at their feet with reverence he went for refuge. The world regents spoke with him (—lokapalaja) so they said to him, 'Great king by you according to the Buddha's prophecy is a Sangharama[341] to be built wholly (?) with a large stupa and hither relics must be invited which the meritorious good beings dwelling in Jambudvipa, the deities and protectors, will bring. Whoever may be those beings who by only casting a flower thereon do honour to the stūpa all those shall take birth in the worlds of the devas in a moment they attain to bodhi (illumination) according to the prophecy. And this saṅgharama shall be named the Kaniska vihāra.

When the king had heard the utterance of the world regents, then he ordered his ministers to summon architects. So he ordered, 'Assemble many working men. Here in this place begin a sangharama with a pile high as one krosa,[34] and make for it also

a dharmarājika (stupa), decked with gold, silver, jewels and pearls' The ministers assembled many working men There in that place they began the stupa and sangharāma of Kaniska with the dharmarajika (stūpa)

"At another time the king went with his spiritual adviser Asagausha (Asvaghosa) to that working place when they had made the dharmarājikā At that time Aśagausha (Asvaghosa), the spiritual adviser, picked up a ball of clay Such is the act of truth which he made saying 'If I am to realize the bodhi (illumination) in this present Bhadrakalpa (age) necessarily by the casting of this ball let some unparalleled sign appear' At once on the casting of the ball, a certain Buddha image appeared as great in thickness and length as was Śākyamuni the Buddha /// pure He then /// foot ///'[343]

(ii) *Fa-hien's Account*

Fa hien also narrates a story giving a supernatural background for the construction of Kaniska's tope at Peshawar —

'Going southward from Gandhāra the travellers in four days arrived at the kingdom of Purushapura (Peshawar) Formerly when Buddha was travelling in this country with his disciples he said to Ānand[344] After my pari nirvana, there will be a king named Kaniska who shall in this spot build a tope' This Kaniska was afterwards born into this world and (once) when he had gone forth to look about him, Śakra[345] ruler of Devas,[346] wishing to excite the idea in his mind, assumed the appearance of a little herd boy, and was making a tope right in the way (of the king), who asked what sort of a thing he was making The boy said I am making a tope for Buddha' The king said 'Very good, and immediately right over the boy's tope he (proceeded *to) rear another, which was more than four hundred cubits high,*[347] and adorned with layers of all the precious substances of all the topes and temples which (the travellers) saw in their journeyings, there was not one comparable to this in solemn beauty and majestic grandeur There is a current saying that this is the finest tope in Jambudvipa When the King's tope was completed, the little tope (of the boy) came out from its side on the south rather more than three cubits in height '[348]

(iii) *Buddha's Prediction as Recorded in a Vinaya Treatise*

In a Vinaya treatise, the prediction about the construction of the tope by Kaniska is made not to Ānanda but to Vajrapāni Pusa[349] —

The Buddha going about with this Pusa from place to place in North India came to the hamlet of the Ho shu lo that is, Kharjura or wild date tree Here the two sat down and the Buddha pointing to a small boy making a mud tope at a little distance told the Pusa that on that spot Kaniska would erect a tope called by his name ' [350]

(iv) *Sung Yun's Story*

Sung-Yun who came to India in 518 A D gives the following story about the construction of the Kaniska s stupa [351]

"Tathagata[352] was passing through the country with his disciples on his mission of instructing, on which occasion while delivering discourse on the east side of the city, he said Three hundred years after my nirvana there will be a king of this country called Ka-ni-si ka (Kaniska) On this spot he will raise a pagoda (Feou thou)' Three hundred years after that event there was king Kaniska [353] On one occasion while going out to the east of the city he saw four children engaged in making a Buddhist tower out of dung, they had raised it about three feet high when suddenly they disappeared [354] The king surprised at this miraculous event immediately erected a tower for the purpose of enclosing (the small pagoda), but gradually the small tower grew higher and higher, and at last went outside and removed itself 400 feet off, and there stationed itself Then the king proceeded to widen the foundation of the Great Tower 300 paces and more [355] To crown all he placed a roof-pole upright and even [356] Throughout the building he used ornamental wood, he constructed stairs to lead to the top The roof consisted of every kind of wood Although there were thirteen storeys, above them there was an iron pillar 3 feet high[357] with thirteen gilded circlets Altogether the height from the ground was 700 feet [358] This meritorious work being finished the dung pagoda, as at first, remained three paces south of the Great Tower The Brahman, not believing that it was really made of dung, dug a hole in it to see Although years have elapsed since these events, this tower has not corrupted and although they have tried to fill up the hole with scented earth, they have not been able to do so It is now enclosed with protecting

canopy The Tsioh-li pagoda since its erection had been three times destroyed by lightning, but the kings of the country have each time restored it The old men say, "When this pagoda is finally destroyed by lightning, the Law of Buddha will also perish "[359] Within, the pagoda contained every sort of Buddhist utensil, here are gold and jewelled (vessels) of a thousand forms and vast variety-to name which even would be no easy task, at sun rise the gilded discs of the vane are lit up with dazzling glory, while the gentle breeze of the morning causes the precious bells (that are suspended from the roof) to tinkle with a pleasing sound, of all the pagodas of the Western world this one is by far the first (in size and importance) At the first completion of this tower they used true pearls in making the net work covering over the top, but after some years, the king, reflecting over the enormous value of this ornamental work, thought thus within himself, 'After my decease (funeral) I fear some invaders may carry it off'-or 'supposing the pagoda should fall, there will be no one with means sufficient to re-build it', on which he removed it to the north-west of the pagoda 100 paces, and buried it in the earth Above the spot he planted a tree, which is called Po tai (Bodhi), the branches of which, spreading out on each side, with their thick foliage, completely shade the spot from the sun Underneath the tree on each side there are sitting figures (of Buddha) of the same weight, viz a chang and a half (17 feet) There are always four dragons in attendance to protect these jewels; if a man (only in his heart) covets them, calamities immediately befall him There is also a stone erected on the spot and engraved on it are these words of direction, 'Hereafter, if this tower is destroyed after long search, the virtuous man may find here, pearls (of value sufficient) to help him restore it "[360]

(i) *Hieun Tsang's Version*

Hieun Tsang who came to India in 630 A D gives another of the story which is related in "On Yuan Chwang's Travels version in India" —

"About eight or nine li[361] to the south east of the capital was a large very ancient sacred Pippal Tree about 100 feet high with wide-spreading foliage affording a dense shade Under it the past four Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa are to sit here, the images of the four Buddhas in the sitting posture were still to be seen When .Sakya Julai[362] was sitting under this tree with his face to the south he

said to Anand— Four hundred years after my decease a sovereign will reign by name Kaniska who a little to the south of this will raise a tope in which he will collect many of my flesh and bone relics [63]

To the south of the Pippal Tree was the Tope erected by Kaniska Exactly 400 years after the death of the Buddha[364] Kaniska became sovereign of all Jambudvipa but he did not believe in Karma and he treated Buddhism with contumely When he was hunting in the wild country a white hare appeared the king gave a chase and the hare suddenly disappeared at this place Here among the trees the king discovered a cow herd boy with a small tope three feet high he had made What is this you have made? asked the king The boy replied telling the Buddha's prophecy and informing Kaniska that he was the king of the prophecy adding that he had come to set in motion the fulfilment of the prophecy With this the king was greatly pleased he straightway became a Buddhist and proceeded to accomplish the prediction Trusting to his own great merits he set about building a great tope round the site of the boy's small tope which was to be concealed and suppressed by the great tope But as the latter rose in height the small tope always topped it by three feet The King's tope was one and a half li in circuit at the base which was 150 feet high in five stages and the tope had reached the height of 400 feet The boy's tope was now suppressed and the king was greatly pleased He completed his tope by the addition of twenty five gilt copper discs in tiers and having deposited a hoard of relics inside he proceeded to offer solemn worship But the small tope appeared with one half of it out side ways under the south east corner of the great base The king now lost patience and threw the thing up So (the small tope) remained as it was (i e did not come through the wall with one-half of it visible in the stone base below the second stage) and another small tope took its place at the original site Seeing all this the king became alarmed as he was evidently contending with supernatural powers so he confessed his error and made submission The two topes were still in existence and were resorted to for cures by people afflicted with diseases South of the stone steps on the east side of the Great Tope were two sculptured topes one three and the other five feet high which were miniatures of the Great Tope There were also two images of the

Buddha, one four and the other six feet high representing him seated cross-legged under the Bodhi When the sun shone on them these images were of a dazzling gold colour, and in the shade their stone was of a dark violet colour The stone had been gnawed by gold-coloured ants so as to have the appearance of carving and the insertion of gold sand completed the images On the south face of the ascent to the Great Tope was a painting of the Buddha sixteen feet high with two heads from one body. One pilgrim narrates the legend connected with this very curious picture as he learned it at the place

"About 100 paces to the south-east of the Great Tope was a a white-stone standing image of Buddha eighteen feet high facing north, which wrought miracles and was seen by night to circumambulate the Great Tope. On either side of the latter were above 100 small topes close together. The Buddha images were adorned in the perfection of art Strange perfumes were perceived and unusual sounds heard (at the Great Tope), and divine and human genii might be seen performing pradaksinā[365] round it The Buddha predicted that when the Tope had been seven times burnt and seven times rebuilt his religion would come to an end The Records of former sages stated that the tope had already been erected and destroyed three times When Yuan-chwang arrived he found there had been another burning, and the work of the building was still in progress

"To the west of the Great Tope was an old monastery built by Kaniska,[366] its upper storey and many terraces were connected by passages to invite eminent Brethren and give distinction to illustrious merit, and although the buildings were in ruins, they could be said to be of rare art

"In the third tier of high walls of Kaniska-Vihara was the chamber once occupied by the venerable Pārsva (Po li ssu fo) It was in ruins at the time of Hieun Tsang's visit, but was marked off On the east side of Parsva's chamber was the old house in which Shih-Chin Pusa (Vasubandhu) composed the pi-ta-mo ku-shi-lun (Abhidharma kosa-sāstra) and posterity in reverential remembrance had set a mark on this house About fifty paces south from Vasubandhu's house was the second tier of high walls, here Manoratha wrote a Vibhāsha lun."[367]

(vi) *Story of Conversion as Related in the Fou fa tsang-in iuen-tchoen*

In the Fou fa tsang-iuen in tchoen (Śri dharma-piṭaka nidāna sutra), the circumstances which led to the conversion of Kaniska are clearly stated —

'At this time the king of Ngan si (Pahlava) was very stupid and of a violent nature At the head of the four forces he attacked Ki ni tcha (Kaniska) who defeated him and slew nine hundred thousand men Then he asked his ministers if this sin could be wiped out or not, and to instruct them had a pot boiled and put his ring in it

'There was a bhikshu arhat who seeing the evil deed done by the king (in slaughtering nine hundred thousand men) wished to make him repent So by his supernatural force he caused the king to see the torments of hell The king was terrified and repented Then Ma ming[368] told him that if he obeyed his teaching he would escape hell Ki ni-tcha replied 'Well, I receive the teaching' Then Ma ming expounded the law, and gradually caused the sin to be entirely weakened'[369]

(vii) *A Critical Estimate of the Various Legends*

If we analyse the above mentioned legends after making due allowances for the religious zeal of the Buddhist writers who gave free expression to their faith in miracles in describing the conversion of the great emperor Kaniska and the glorious edifices which he built, we arrive at the following conclusions —

1 Kaniska was a ruthless conqueror and was responsible for killing hundreds of thousands of people in the course of his conquests The figure of nine hundred thousand men killed in his war against Ngan si (Parthia) as mentioned in the Fou fa tsang in iuen-tchoen is rather exaggerated[370] but there is no doubt that the extensive military campaigns which he had to undertake must have involved an enormous loss of human life and led his spiritual advisers to produce feelings of remorse in his mind But Buddhism promised him deliverence from sin, and Asvaghosa, the great Buddhist scholar who had been brought by him from Pātaliputra,[371] succeeded in converting him to the new faith Asvaghosa caused the king to see the torments of hell for his sins The king was terrified and repented Then Maming (Asvaghosa) told him that

if he obeyed his teaching he would escape hell Ki-ni-tcha replied, "Well, I receive the teaching" "Then Maming expounded the law, and gradually caused the sin to be extremely weakened "[372]

It is rather curious that the conversion of Asoka had also been brought about under similar circumstances on account of the repentance which he had felt at the great slaughter which had taken place in Kalinga This has led many historians to doubt the veracity of the statement about Kaniska s ruthless character and fiendish cruelty before his conversion, and to assert that it is a mere repetition of Asoka's story in order to extol the achievements of Buddhism But this argument is baseless as Kaniska did not give up his ambitious schemes of conquests even after his conversion as Asoka had done but continued to follow his policy of aggrandisement until his death [373]

This account of conversion however differs from the one given by Hieun Tsang Hiuen Tsang states that Kaniska met a a cow herd boy in the wild country where he had gone for hunting that the boy had made a small tope, that he was told by the boy about Buddha s prophecy regarding the construction of a tope by him, and that he at once became a Buddhist in order to fulfil that prediction "What is this you have made?" asked the king The boy replied telling the prophecy and informing Kaniska that "he was the king of the prophecy, adding that he had come to set in motion the fulfilment of the prophecy With this the king was greatly pleased, he straightway became a Buddhist and proceeded to accomplish the prediction "[374]

Hieun Tsang s version cannot be readily accepted It is hard to believe how Kaniska could be so much impressed by the words of a mere cow herd boy who was by no means performing any miracle that he straightway became a Buddhist The Khotanese manuscripts give a more realistic account of the conversion in stating that it was not accidental but was brought about gradually by his spiritual advisers At another time the king through his spiritual advisers attained to faith in the teaching of the Buddha and to purity of mind He rejected false views and in reliance upon true views he abstained from evil, day by day he produced important extensive favourable roots of merit in the Three Jewels "[375] He began to have great faith in the blessings which Buddhism promised for its followers He showed great

respect for its leaders and went to get instructions from them The following stories are good illustrations of the great veneration in which he held the Buddhist scholars —

Once he went to see the reputed Arya Arhat named Ki-ye to in Kipin on his horse escorted by his ministers He prostrated himself before the Arya who at that moment wanted to spit The king respectfully handed the spittoon to him He gave the king an abridgement of the law and doctrine in the following sentence "When the king comes the way is good, when he goes it is as when he comes' The king then returned to his kingdom On the way he explained to his servants the meaning of the sentence It was to the effect that his good deeds as a Buddhist, his construction of Vihāras stupas etc were the cause of his present prosperity they were the merits on which a royal race was founded, they secured his felicity in the life to come'[376]

At another time he went to see the Bhikshu To-mo-mi-to (Dharma mitra) in the mountain of Kipin Dharma-mitra was able to recite and explain the character of the San mei-ting (Samādhi, meditation) The Bhikshu taught the king all the doctrines in a short formula and the king returned to his kingdom and on the way explained the formula to his ministers[377]

2 Kaniska won great fame by constructing the stupa which was regarded as a wonder of the world for many centuries and was visited by Buddhist pilgrims from many countries According to Fa-hien "There is a current saying that this is the finest tope in Jambudvipa'[378] Sung-Yun praises the stupa in the same terms, "Of all the pagodas of the Western world this one is by far the first (in size and importance)'[379] There is no wonder that according to popular Buddhist belief, its construction by Kaniska was predicted by Lord Buddha himself many centuries before its actual construction But there is a difference of opinion about the person to whom the prophecy was made Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang think that it was made to Ānand,[380] while in a Vinaya text it is stated that the person addressed was Vajrapāni[381] Sung-Yun states that the Buddha foretold to his disciples the construction of the pagoda by Kaniska, but does not name them[382] The Khotanese Manuscripts refer to the prediction, but do not mention the name of the person to whom it was made[383]

3 The person who produced the idea of constructing the stupa in Kaniska s mind has been differently named According to Fa hien, it was Sakra the ruler of the Devas, who had assumed the appearance of a little herd-boy and who was constructing a stupa right in the way of the king But Hieun Tsang calls him a mere cow herd boy who had constructed a small tope to excite such ideas in the king's mind The Khotanese Text makes the four world regents appear before Kaniska in the form of four young boys engaged in constructing a stupa, and when asked who ordered them to do that work, they assume their real form and tell him about Buddha s prophecy These stories are meant for appealing to the credulity of the religious minded people who were much charmed by the glamour of the stupa and readily believed some supernatural powers to be the motivating force for the plan for its construction There is no denying the fact that the ambition to construct a unique edifice of this type must have arisen in Kaniska s mind by the sight of many small stupas and other Buddhist structures which were being built by even ordinary Buddhist folk all over Gandhāra There is definite epigraphic evidence that an earlier Buddhist monastery (Mahasena Saugharama) already existed at the site of the stupa [384] The rest of the story about the coming out of the small tope every time it was sought to be suppressed by the big Kaniska Tope is apparently a result of the desire of the Buddhist writers to stress the cardinal point of their teaching that a poor man's small offering for a religious cause is as valuable or even more than a rich man's precious gifts It is true that the king had built a splendid stūpa, but the poor man s small stūpa remained at its place to remind him that he should not feel vain of his achievements Similar ideas are expressed by Fa-hien in the anecdote of Buddha's bowl in Peshawar —

"When it is near mid-day, they bring out the bowl and along with the common people make their various offerings to it, after which they take their mid day meal In the evening at the time of incense, they bring the bowl out again It may contain rather more than two pecks When the poor people throw into it a few flowers, it becomes immediately full, while some very rich people, wishing to make offering of many flowers might not stop till they had thrown in hundreds, thousands and myriads of bushels, and yet would not be able to fill it "[385] The addition of two sculptured topes and the two Buddha images mentioned by Hieun Tsang seems

to have taken place at a later period, as we do not find any mention of them in the accounts of the earlier writers

4 The Great Stupa was made of ornamental wood and had stairs leading to the top[386] The tope was one and a half li (1385 feet) in circuit at the base which was 150 feet high in five stages[387] The height of the tope was, according to Hieun Tsang 400 feet There were thirteen storeys above which there was an iron pillar, thirty feet high with thirteen gilded circlets[388] There is, however, some difference of opinion regarding the height of the building, Fahien gives the height as more than 400 cubits (600 feet), Sung Yun as 700 feet, while some other writers make the total height 550, 632, 743 800 and 1000 feet[389] Fahien and Hieun Tsang seem to be approximately correct in their estimate, as the height of the base was 150 feet, of the thirteen storeys 400 feet and of the iron pillar thirty feet making the total height of the structure 580 feet The great height of the stūpa led some writers to exaggeration, and one of the names by which it was known was the "Thousand foot Tope". It was also called the "Chio li (Striped) Tope"[390]

To yung and Hieun Tsang differ from Sung-Yun in giving the number of encircling discs as fifteen[391] and twenty five[39] respectively But, for a pillar of thirty feet, the number of gilded circlets given by Hieun Tsang seems to be exaggerated

5 According to the Shah ji-ki-Dheri Stūpa[393] Casket inscription the stūpa was constructed in Peshawar at a site already hallowed by tradition (the Mahasena Sanghārama) The name of its architect was Agisala[394] It is certainly a non Indian name and probably represents a corruption of the Greek name Agesilaos It required great skill and ingenuity for the heavy iron pillar to be raised to its position, and a lofty stage had to be erected at the four corners for the purpose[395] Great treasures were expended in this work, and prayers were offered before its completion At the first completion of the tower true pearls were used in making the net-work covering over the top, but fearing that some invader might not carry off this valuable treasure, Kaniska removed it to the north-west of the pagoda and buried it in the earth and planted a Bodhi tree over it A stone was erected on the spot and on it were engraved the words "Hereafter, if this tower is destroyed, after long search, the virtuous man may find here, pearls (of value sufficient) to help him restore it"[396]

6 The stūpa contained relics of the Buddha[39] and gold and jewelled vessels of a thousand forms and vast variety[398]

It was a beautiful pagoda, at sun-rise the gilded discs of the vane were lit up with dazzling glory, while the gentle breeze of the morning caused the precious bells that were suspended from the roof to tinkle with a pleasing sound[399]

7 The stūpa was considered to have miraculous powers of enlightening those who honoured it According to the Khotanese Manuscript No P 2787, 'Whoever may be those beings who by only casting a flower thereon do honour to the stupa, all those shall take birth in the worlds of the devas, in a moment, they attain to Bodhi (illumination) according to prophecy '[400]

8 The stūpa was attached to a monastery called Kaniska Vihāra The inscription on the casket found in the ruins of the stūpa states that it was constructed by the architect Agisala in the Kaniska Vihara,[401] and the Khotanese Manuscript describes the orders of Kaniska issued to his ministers "Assemble many working men Here in this place begin a sanghārāma, with a pile high as one krosa, and make for it also a Dharmarajika (stupa), decked with gold, silver, jewels and pearls"[402] These orders were soon carried out The upper storey of the monastery and many terraces were connected by passages

Although the buildings were in ruins when Hieun Tsang visited them, they could be said to be of rare art They served as the residential quarters of Pārsva, of Vasubandhu and of Manoratha in later times[403] The Itinerary of Ou-kong points out this monastery which he calls 'the monastery of Yue-ti-li of the king Ki-ni-tcha it had as relic a bone of the skull of Sakya the Tathāgata[404]

The pagoda was destroyed many times by *lightning and fire* but was rebuilt Sung-Yun who visited it in the 6th century states that it had been three times destroyed by lightning but had been restored[404] Hieun Tsang who visited it in the 7th century found that it had been recently burnt and that the work of re-building it was still in progress He heard from the sages that it had been erected and destroyed three times and according to the Buddhist belief the Buddha had prophesied that the Buddhist religion would come to an end when it had been seven times burnt and seven

times rebuilt [406] It must have been completely destroyed during the period of the Muslim rulers as they could not tolerate the idolatrous practices in their midst From the wording of Alberūnī who wrote in the first quarter of the 11th century, it appears that the Kaniska Vihāra still existed during that period, according to him "One of the series of kings was Kaniska, the same who is said to have built the Vihāra (Buddhist monastery) of Purushavar It is called after him Kanik Chaitya "[407]

(viii) *Excavation of the Site of the Stupa*

The site of the stupa has been successfully excavated by Dr. Spooner who found a metal casket and within it the Buddhist relics enclosed in a reliquary of rock crystal [408] Hiuen Tsang has made a mention of these relics in his account of the stupa The casket itself is similar to a Greek pyxis in shape with a height of some 7 inches and a diameter of nearly 5 inches The lid which is slightly curved and incised to represent a full blown lotus supports three figures in the round a seated Buddha in the centre and an attendant on each side The edge of the lid is adorned by a frieze, in low relief, of flying geese bearing wreaths in their beaks while below on the body of the vase, in an elaborate design, in high relief, of young Erotes bearing a continuous garland in the undulations of which are seated Buddha figures and attendant worshippers leaning towards them out of the background But the chief and the central figure on the casket is that of the Emperor Kaniska himself standing erect with a winged celestial being bearing a wreath on either side [409] The figure of the emperor is easily recognizable from his coins but the identity is further proved by the inscription on the casket in Kharosthi punctuated in dots in the leaves of the lotus on the top and on the background between the geese and the figures on the sides [410] The inscription states ' In the year—of (the Maharaja) Kaniska, in the town ima connected with mansion, this religious gift—may it be for the welfare and happiness of all beings,—the slave Agisala was the architect,—in Kaniska s Vihara in Mahasena s Sangharama in the acceptance of the Sarvastivadin teachers

The date given in the inscription for the construction of the stupa is illegible Dr Sten Konow's view that it is probably "the year 1 ' of Kaniska's reign[411] is not justified, as according to all available evidence Kaniska did not become a Buddhist until

some years had passed after his accession to the throne, during which he conquered many territories[412] Hieun Tsang also mentions the fact that when Kaniska became sovereign of India he did not believe in Karma and treated Buddhism with contumely[413]

The reliquary inside the metal casket is of plain rock crystal, six sided and hollowed out at one end to receive the relics which consist of four fragments of bone packed tightly together The apertex originally covered by a clay sealing bears the impress of what is doubtless the royal signet with the device of an elephant This sealing has become detached owing to the infiltration of water but it was found lying beside the reliquary and had been preserved along with the other articles, including a coin of Kaniska which was found close to the relic chamber[414]

The size and costly magnificence of the monument enshrining the relics and the account of Buddha s prophecy given by Hiuen Tsang[415] testify them to be the Buddha's relics It was not difficult for Kaniska to obtain well authenticated relics from one or other of the stūpas or other Buddhist establishments within his dominions, and it was natural enough that he should wish to sanctify and enrich his capital at Purushapura by transporting them to that city[416]

(b) *Religious Assembly*

Kaniska used to study the Buddhist scriptures in his leisure hours and a monk was invited every day to give him instructions in religious scriptures But he soon fell into a state of helpless confusion on account of the different and conflicting interpretations made to him by the followers of the different sects He wanted to restore Buddhism to eminence and to have Tripitaka[417] explained according to the tenets of the various schools He therefore summoned a religious council, and only those who were thoroughly versed in the Tripitaka and well learned in the "five sciences"[418] were allowed to take part in its sessions which were held in Kashmir Gandhara had been rejected as a place for its meeting on account of its heat and dampness, and Rajagṛha[419] was not accepted for the purpose, because there were too many adherents of other sects in that place The council made a splendid contribution to the interpretation of Buddhism, it composed 100,000 stanzas of

Upadesa Sastra explanatory of the canonical sutras, 100 000 stanzas of Vinaya Vibhasha sastras explanatory of the Vinaya and 100 000 stanzas of Abhidharma Vibhasha sastras explanatory of the Abhidharma For the exposition of the Tripitaka all learning from remote antiquity was thoroughly examined, and the general sense and the terse language of the Buddhist scriptures were again made clear and distinct He got the treatises written out on copper-plates and enclosed them in stone boxes which were deposited in a Tope made for this purpose

Shaman Hwui Li who wrote the "Life of Hiuen Tsiang which is supplement to S yu Ki repeats some of these observations

The account of the selection of the members of the Assembly and its President is rather fanciful It is true that Kaniska might have found the original assembly of Buddhist scholars who had come to take part in it something too unwieldy and he might have resorted to the method of selecting the best among them But the manner in which Vasumitra was selected as the President seems to be an outcome of Hieun Tsang s religious fancy There is no doubt that Vasumitra was respected for his learning his work Mahavibhasha Sastra (No 1263 of Nanjio s Catalogue) is an elaborate commentary on the Jnanaprasthana Sastra the fundamental work of the Sarvastivadin school [490] His decisions were accepted as final on all disputed points The version of his selection bears a close resemblance to the story about Ānanda at the First Religious Council [1] in which Ānand had been refused admission in the first instance on account of his failure to attain Arhathood which he actually did reach on the eve of the session of the Council He then became a leading authority for the formulation of Sutta Pitaka

There is some controversy regarding the place of meeting of the Council Some authors aver that the Council met in the Kundalavana Vihara in Kashmir while others locate it in the Kuvana monastery at Jalandhara Taranath observes that the balance of authority favours the latter view [490] But a thorough examination of all the available evidence inclines us to the former opinion The Mongolian traditions affirm that the Council met at Jalandhar which was in Kashmir according to the Sastra Chingola Kereglegchi and in the kingdom of Gatchim Kunasana, according to the history of Sanang Setsen [493] As a matter of fact, Kaniska was

called the king of Jalandhar in some ancient books and this fact might have given rise to the belief that the Council met in that city A Chinese account locates the assembly at Kandahara (Gandhara), but this location undoubtedly refers to the original meeting of the Buddhist scholars before holding regular sessions of the Council [424] Hieun Tsang gives a detailed account of the circumstances leading to the selection of Kashmir and not Gandhara or Rajagrha for this purpose he does not mention the present Jalandhara [425] in this connection Similarly while describing his visit to Jalandhara (She lan ta la), he makes no allusion to any meeting of the Religious Council there [426]

There are some other references to the Council in many other ancient accounts but some of them give a wrong date for it while others do not mention Kaniṣka specifically in this connection The Tibetan Bkah gyur[427] represents the work of the Council as being the third compilation of the doctrines of the Buddha [428] The Bstan gyur describes[429] the Council in 400 anno Buddhae (one of the traditional dates of Kaniska) as having been led by Vatsiputra and devoted to the doctrines of his school [430] Paramartha gives an independent account of the Council as having been held in Kashmir at some time in the fifth century after the nirvana He does not name Kaniska but ascribes the summoning of the Assembly to Katayaniputra author of the Jnanaprasthana sutra According to him Asvaghosa was invited from Saketa[431] in the Sravasti[432] province for the purpose of applying his well known literary skill to the redaction of the commentaries drafted by the Council [433] There is no doubt that the Council was summoned by Kaniska and that Hieun Tsang s account represents in the main the correct picture

There is however no reference to the Council in the chronicles of Ceylon [434] It would not be wrong to assume that the Buddhists of the Theravada[435] school who predominated in that country did not participate in it and that the votaries of Srvastivadin school under the leadership of Vasumitra took the most prominent part in it Wassiljew observes that the Bu ston (1290 1364) also refuses to acknowledge the Council [436] La Vallee Poussin too doubts the historical truth of the Council and thinks that it was an apologetic quasi invention [437] But the full details of the Council recorded by Hieun Tsang and the Tibetans,

even though they were written some centuries after its occurrence, do warrant us not to doubt its reality

The Council accomplished the stupendous task of collecting the tenets of the Tripitaka the three main divisions of the canon, and of compiling huge commentaries on them, consisting of 100 000 stanzas for each division The Council according to Taranath, settled the strife between the eighteen schools which were all recognized as orthodox, and the three Pitakas were now either for the first time reduced to writing, or, so far as previously written, were purified from error [438]

The copper plates on which the treatises were inscribed or the stûpa in which they were deposited have not so far been found But the Abhidharma literature consisting of seven books one principal (Jñanaprasthāna) and six supplementary were widely studied in Kashmir the seat of this school The Mahavibhashā and the Vibhasha commentaries on the Jñanaprasthāna but incorporating matter from the other Padas have been wholly lost in Sanskrit, but are still preserved in Chinese [439] Vasubandhu's Abhidharma kosa is an authoritative treatment of the whole subject Yasomitra has written commentaries in this connection A good picture has been presented by the labours of Poussin Stecherbatsky, Rosenberg, Sylvain Levi and Wogihara [440]

There is no mention by Hieun Tsang and the Tibetan chronicles of the language in which the treatises were compiled by the Council But the association of Asvaghosa, the great Sanskrit scholar with the work of the composition leads us to think that Sanskrit was the medium employed for this purpose In fact, the Abhidharma kosa of Vasubandhu is based upon these Vibhāshās and the commentary of Yasomitra cites ipsissima verba from the old Vibhasha literature Further, the discovery of the work of Ghosaka, the Abhidharma-sutra, which is not far removed from the time of Kaniska, settles all controversy The Council may, therefore, be regarded as epoch making in the history of Buddhism in that it made Sanskrit the vehicle of Buddhist religion [441]

Before leaving Kashmir after the completion of the work of the Council, Kaniska renewed Asoka s gift of the kingdom of that country to the Church [41]

(c) *Other Steps to Popularise Buddhism*

He built monasteries, chaityas and similar structures at

Sushkaletra (Hushaletar or Hakhtri 74° 42 long, 34° lat)[443]

During his reign, the Gandhāra and the Mathura schools of art reached new heights of glory in producing fine specimens of the images of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas[444] Buddhism became a popular religion

(d) His Deification by Later Buddhists

The Buddhists repaid the debt which they owed to him by glorifying his name in their chronicles, and stories investing him with miraculous powers soon became current It is interesting to relate in this connection the tale which Al-berūnī had heard about his conquest of Kanauj Kaniska is said to have caused water to sprout from a deserted land and the hands and feet of the king of Kanauj to fall off by thrusting his spear in the ground[445]

A similar motive about one of Mihirakula's expedition is related in Rājatarangini[446]

We cannot put any reliance on these stories they were meant only to appeal to popular imagination, and were generally told about kings who had made their name in history The deification of Kaniska is well expressed in the words of the Vazir, "I had not directed my cunning scheme against powerful angels but against feeble men"

The idea of deification is also expressed in the portrayal of the figure of Kaniska on his coins where flames are shown rising from his shoulders[447]

HIS ADMINISTRATION

He believed in the divine origin of kingship, this idea is embodied in the portrayal of his body emerging from clouds with flames rising from his shoulders[448] and the assumption of the title of Devaputra "Son of Heaven[449] In theory, he exercised absolute powers over his dominions, but in practice, his authority was limited by the existence of some semi independent States, the wide powers given to many provincial viceroys (Kastrapas and Mahākstrapas) and the checks imposed by his council of ministers

There were certain States which acknowledged his supremacy and used his era for reckoning dates, but their kings were allowed to retain the title of Maharaja The Curzon Museum inscription of

the year 23 refers to such a State in Central India, its ruler was, called Maharaja Matsyagupta[150] Vaskushāna, the king of Sanchi, was practically independent, as the Sanchi inscription of the year 22 refers to his reign and not to that of his Kusāna overlord[451] The title "A-ma-cheh" was conferred on the Dukes of Shigar in Baltistan[452]

The ruler of North Konkan and Saurashtra (Gujarat), Nahapāna who is called Nambanus in the Periplus,[453] was also one of his feudatories as the use of the title "Ksatrapa" and the Śaka era clearly indicates Later on, he became practically independent, called himself a Rajan, issued a vast coinage and waged wars on his own initiative[454]

Eastern India (Magadha) was governed by the Mahākṣtrapa Kharapallana and the Ksatrapa Vanaspara in the early years of Kaniska's reign[455] The distinction between the titles Mahaksatrapa and Ksatrapa seems to be based on rank and seniority, a Mahaksatrapa was evidently senior to a Ksatrapa But it is rather strange that in the Sarnath Buddhist Umbrella-post inscription of the year 3 of Kaniska bearing the same date (22nd day of the third month of winter) as that of the Sarnath Buddhist Image inscription, the title Ksatrapa of Vanaspara is mentioned but that of Kharapallana is omitted and that the name of Vanaspara precedes that of Kharapallana[456] The only explanation of this omission can be that the writers of some inscriptions did not care to give full titles of the kings and ksatrapas about whom they wrote, and in this case, the writer's carelessness is also shown in his spelling of the name Vanaspara as Vanaspara

The name of Ksatrapa Liaka is mentioned in the Zeda inscription of the year 11,[457] he must have ruled in North-Western India (now North-Western Pakistan), as Zeda is situated in that part of the country

The Manikiala inscription of the year 18 refers to Ksatrapa Vespasi[458] who was probably the viceroy of Taxila, as Manikiala is situated in that area

There were some republican tribes which had been subjugated and brought under the complete control of the Kusānas, but they could not be completely crushed, as they again rose to power and issued their own coinage after the decline of the power of the early Kusānas The Yaudheyas lived between Bharatpur and the lower

course of the Sutlej) the Arjunayanas round modern Alwar and Agra, the Abhiras in Saurashtra and the Malavas in Rajasthan and Malwa The Yaudheya settlement near Bahawalpur was definitely *under the control of Kaniska, as the Sue-Vihāra inscription of the* year 11 indicates, but they were war-like people, they rose again after the death of Huviska when the Kusana power became weak,[459] but they were, according to the Junagadh inscription, again crushed by Rudradāman [460]

The king had a council of ministers who advised the king on all important matters His Prime Minister was Mathara (Mo-tcha lo) whose name is mentioned in the Samyukta ratna-pitaka[461] and the Fou fa tsang in iuen tchoen [462] The Sutralamkāra mentions the name of a minister, Devadharma, who once accompanied the king to Kaniskapura [463] Other famous counsellors of Kaniska were Asvaghosa Charaka and Samgharaksha Asvaghosa was his spiritual guide, Charaka his physician,[464] and Samgharaksha his chaplain [465] Mathara Asvaghosa and Charaka were his most intimate friends and were treated with honour and liberality.[466] The Prime Minister always enjoined on him the value of keeping his plans secret [467] According to the Samyukta—ratna pitaka three of the four regions submitted to him, because he followed his advice, but his expedition to the north failed, because the king let out its secret to the people [468]

He, at first, did not take much interest in the administration of the country, and passed all his time in superintending house-hold affairs, and hardly went out to the city and to the outside, but very soon he realized his duty and "charged a high functionary to make known to him the outside affairs "[469]

Different types of officials and institutions are mentioned in the inscriptions issued during the period of his immediate successors, and they must have existed during his reign also, as they have existed from ancient times The head-man of the village, the smallest unit in the administration, is called Gramika" in the inscription of the year 40 [470] Similarly there were many kinds of guilds (Srenis) which managed the affairs of their professions and sometimes were entrusted with the control of certain trusts and religious endowments [471] A reference is also made to a Sreshthi (alderman) in the Jain Image inscription of the year 15 [472]

Kaniska employed Superintendents of Works (Navakarmika)

to look after the construction and repair of his buildings[43]

He maintained a large four-divisioned army[44] and with its help subjugated many territories, and kept law and order in the country Some of his kinsmen occupied the rank of General (dadnavaga or dandanayaka), and helped the provincial viceroys in their work According to the Manikiala inscription of the year 18 Lala, a scion of the Kusana race enjoyed this position[45]

He employed a large number of Kusanas Śakas and Greeks in the administration of the country as is quite clear from the names of the officers mentioned above But most of them, like their overlords were being gradually Indianized they were adopting the Indian religion (Buddhism) and did not look to any foreign country as their homeland

He followed a policy of religious toleration Even though he had become an ardent Buddhist he allowed followers of other religions to worship in their own way A large number of Jain and Hindu temples were constructed during his reign[46] and he portrayed many Hindu deities on his coins[47] There is, therefore no justification for the views of Jayaswal who denounces his rule by identifying his viceroy Vanaspara with Visvasphati(ka), Visvasphani and Vimvasphati mentioned in the Puranas[48]

AN ESTIMATE OF HIS CHARACTER AND ACHIEVEMENTS

He was one of the greatest rulers of India As a great conqueror he waged successful wars against Parthia in the west[49] and Magadha in the east[480] The Western boundary of his empire extended to territories which had never been brought under the control of any great Indian ruler[41] His extreme cruelty in his warfare against Parthia where he wreaked a terrible vengeance against the king of that country by murdering hundreds of thousands of his people soon filled his mind with remorse, and he did not resort to such tactics again

But he was very ambitious and his desire for expanding the empire remained unsatisfied even though he had become a Buddhist He resolved the mental conflict between his ambitions and his religious views by resorting to works of religious merit But his grand schemes of *territorial aggrandisement led him to a tragic* end , he failed in his expedition to the north, and his servants who were fed up with constant warfare smothered him to death[482]

His name, however, survives as a great administrator, a great builder, a great Buddhist and a great patron of art and literature

He followed the policy of religious toleration, paid homage to a variety of deities and employed officers without any distinction of race and religion[483] He maintained a large army which kept law and order in the country Trade and commerce flourished, and India had a favourable balance of trade with foreign countries[484]

He built many monasteries and chaityas, and his stupa at Purushapura[485] was regarded as a wonder of the world for many centuries and attracted many foreign visitors He founded the city of Kaniskapura[486] near Srinagar in Kashmir

His name is mentioned in the Buddhist legends of many countries he is specially remembered by them for the construction of the stupa for his pilgrimage to Buddhist saints and for the work of the Buddhist Council which he convoked in his reign[487]

Many works of Gandhara and Mathura schools of art were executed during his period[488] Asvaghosa,[489] the great dramatist and philosopher, and Charaka,[490] a famous Indian physician, flourished at his court

His name is also associated with the commencement of the Śaka era which[491] has now been adopted for the national calendar of India

FOOT-NOTES

1 Kosam inscription of the year 2, vide EI, Vol XXIV, pp 210 12,
Sarnath Buddhist Image and Umbrella inscriptions of the year 3, vide *EI*, Vol VIII pp 173 181,
Mathura Jain Inscriptions of the years 7 and 9 vide *EI*, Vol I p 391, No XIX and Plate,
and *ASIR*, Vol III, No 4, p 31, Plate XIII

2 *CII*, Vol II, Pt I, pp 142 55

3 *Ibid* pp 138 41

4 *RT*, Vol I, 168 p 30

5 *CII*, Vol II Pt I, pp 145-50
6 *EI*, Vol IX, pp 239 41
7 *JRAS*, 1942, p 15
8 *Ibid*, p 15
9 *OYCT*, Vol II, p 104,
FFT Chap 5 vide IA, 1903, p 387
10 *THA* vide AIS Vol II, p 11
11 *RT*, Vol I, 168, p 30 note, *EHI*, p 260
12 *CBM*, p 129, Pl XXVI, 2
13 *Ibid*, p 132 No 31, Pl XXVI, 17
14 *HIOH*, ii, 406 and ii, 421, Haidar Razi, vide *CIS*, Pt I, 52
15 *CIS*, Pt I, p 52
16 See Appendix B
17 See p 3
18 See p 87
19 See p 19
20 *JRAS* 1914, pp 79 ff,
SBAW, 1914, pp 643ff
21 *JRAS*, 1903, p 334
22 *CII*, Vol II, Pt I, p lxxvi
The Siao Yue-chi might have acknowledged him as their king
23 *MK*, 47, IA, Vol XXXII, 1903, p 349
24 *CII*, Vol II, Pt I, p lxxvi
25 See p 3
26 *IA*, Vol XXXII, 1903, p 349
27 *IA*, 1929, p 147
28 *JA*, 1927, pp 95 ff
29 *JASB*, LV, i, 1886, p 193
30 See f n 245, Chap 5
31 *CII*, Vol II, Pt I, p lxxviii,
IHQ, 1927, pp 855 56
32 See p 50
33 *ASIAR*, 1911 12 pp 120 33
34 See Chapt VI
35 See p 50
36 A conference on the date of Kaniska was held at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London in April 1960
37 *RT* Vol I, 168 72 pp 30-31,
Ibid Introd p 64
38 See p 67

39 *THA*, in *AIS* Vol II, p 11.
40 *GT*, pp 96 97,
SACI, p 29
41 Kosam Inscription *EI* Vol XXIV pp 210 12
42 Curzon Museum (Mathura) Inscription,
EI Vol XXVIII, Pt I, pp 42 44
ASIAR 1920 21 p 35
JRAS 1924 p 404
43 Isapur Inscription,
EI Vol II p 369
JRAS 1910 pp 1311 15
44 Sanchi Buddhist Statue Inscription
EI, Vol II pp 369 70
45 Mathura Stone Inscription
EI, Vol XXI pp 55 61
46 Mathura Inscription,
EI, Vol I p 386
47 Ara Inscription,
CII Vol II Pt I pp 162-65
48 Mathura Image Inscription,
EI Vol XXX Pt V pp 181-84 and Plate, *IAG* p 27
In the inscription, the *al shata sam* is followed by the symbol for 60 and a unit sign which is partially damaged
The imperfectly preserved figure stands for 4 or 7, more likely 4 giving the date 64
49 *IA*, Vol XXXIII, p 108
50 *CII* Vol II, Pt I, pp 135-37
51 *ASIR*, Vol, III, p 31, Pl XIII
52 *JRAS* 1909 p 465
53 *Maharajasya Vasiskasya rajyasamvatsare chatuvimse'*
JRAS 1910, pp 1311 15,
EI Vol II, p 369
54 *Mahārājasya Devaputrasya Huviskasya rajyasam* 50
IA, Vol VI, p 219
55 *Mahārajasya V (a) sudevasya rajya sa (m) vatsare* 84
LBI, No 69 a, p 168,
JPASB, N S, Vol V, p 276 f
56 *JA*, 9e serie, tome VIII, 1896, pp 444 84,
JA 9e serie, tome IX, 1897, pp 5 26,
IA, 1903, pp 421-22

57 *JIH*, Vol XVIII, p 55
58 See pp 66
59 See p 61
60 See p 61
61 See pp 71 ff
62 See p 61
63 See pp 63 ff
64 *Ibid*
65 *Ibid*
66 *Ibid*
67 *Ibid*
68 *Ibid*
69 *In An*, p. 195, SP p 16
70 See pp 70ff
71 See p 61
72 *ASIR* Vol II p 68 note and Vol III, p 30
73 *CIS* (I), p 57
74 *IA*, 1881, pp 213 16
75 *JA*, 9[e] serie, tome XV pp 526-79,
IHQ, 1929, pp 75 76
76 *JASB* Vol 58, Pt I, 1889, p 193
77 *JRAS*, 1901, p 175,
Ibid, 1903, pp 1 64, 371
78 *EHI*, p 258
79 *AHIS* p 127
80 *IHQ*, 1920, Vol II p 180,
AO Vol III, 1925, p 78
81 *CII*, Vol II, Pt I, p xciii.
82 *In An* p 195, SP, p 16
83 *JRAS*, 1903 pp 1 64, 371,
MDM, pp 105 06, 1879, pp 218 19
84 *EHI* p 258
85 The Greek months Artemisios and Appellaios are mentioned in the Afghanistan Bone lid inscription of the year 18, and the Hidda inscription of the year 28 See Appendix I, Pt B, Nos 19 and 40)
86 *CIS*, Pt I p 57,
CK p 5 The Seleucidan era commenced in 312 B C
87 Letter to the Academy dated the 16th December, 1874, reproduced there on p 32

JRAS, 1913, pp 980-81

88 *CWB* Vol I pp 35 36

JBBRAS, Vol XX 1900, pp 356 ff

Zeymal also suggests that the Kaniska era should be reckoned from the beginning of the year 200 of the Śaka era, i e the year 278 A D

He thinks that Kujula Kadphises ruled about 100 160 of the unknown era about 178 238 A D, Vima Kadphises about 160 200 of the unknown ere-about 238 278 A D and Kaniska about (20)1—(2)23 of the unknown (*i e* Śaka) era about 278 301 A D This hypothesis has been found by him in consonance with the dates of Gupta kings and Western Ksatrapas

(E Y Zeymal—'Problema Kushankoi Khronologii i Monety, Tezisy dokladov na yubileinoi nauchnoi Sessii Gosud arstvennyi Ermitazh 1764 1964, Leningrad, 1964, pp 40 46

E Y Zeymal—"278 A D—The Date of Kaniska', KSIU, pp 152 155)

Lukonin also seems to be in favour of the date 278 A D for the commencement of Kaniska era He cites the evidence of the Kushano Sassanian coins which are closely related with Vasudeva s issues and which mark the complete victory of the Sassanians over the Kusana kingdom They were issued in the seventies of the 4th century Such a dating of the collapse of the Kuṣana empire does not contradict the latest variants of Kusana chronology, according to which the beginning of Kaniska s rule is presumed to be 278 A D, while the latest inscription of Vasudeva would relate to 376 A D (278 A D +98 of the Kaniska era)

(V G Lukonin—'Sassanian Conquests in the East of Iran and the Problem of Kushan Chronology' KSIU, pp 163 64)

89 *CWB*, Vol I pp 35 36

JBBRAS, Vol XX 1900, pp 356 ff

90 *IA*, 1908, p 27

91 *WZKM*, Vol X, 1896, pp 55 58 327

92 *AGG* Vol III pp 484 ff

93 *SP*, p 307

94 *Ibid*, p 271

95 *Ibid* p 272

96 *RCRC*, p 232,
The protagonists of this theory forget that some of the Jain ascetics enjoyed a very long life and lived to be centenarians. Moreover, internal evidence provided by the inscriptions also makes it quite clear that the inscription of the year 15 (EI, Vol I, p 382) was earlier than that of 86 (EI, Vol I, p. 388), as in the former, the name of Jayabhuti who was the preceptor of Vasula s preceptor is also mentioned, showing that Jayabhūti was living at that time, but in the latter, only the name of Vasula's preceptor (Sañgamikā) is given, suggesting that Jayabhūti was dead by that time Further, there are many inscriptions dated in Śaka era in which the hundreds are expressed, e g the Jasdan inscription of the year 127 (*LRB*, p 102, *EI*, Vol XVI, p 238) and Gunda inscription of the year 103 (*EI*, Vol XVI, pp 233-36)
97 *RCRC* pp 232 33, 256
98 *CII*, Vol II, Pt I, p 70
99 *EI* Vol XIV, pp 285 95
100 See p 59
101 See p 24
102 The Parthians had been ousted from Taxila by Wema Kadphises See pp 30, 41-42
103 The year 15 is allowed to stand for the year 115 ;
RCRC, p 232
104 The year 1 is allowed to stand for the year 201 of the old Saka era
RCRC pp 232-33, 256
105 *JRAS* 1903, p 334
106 *GT*, p 22
107 *AHIS*, p 127
108 *IP*, p 195
109 *CII*, Vol II, Pt I xciii
110 *IHQ*, 1926, Vol II, p 180
111 *In An*, p 195
112 *BG*, Tome XII, 1946, p 107
IG, p 261 *CHM*, iii, 1957, pp 689-722
Dikshit also gives the same date (*ABOI*, Vol XXXVII, p. 52). A detailed discussion of Ghirshman s theory is given in Appendix II
113 *PCM*, p 162

114 *IHQ*, 1926 Vol II p 177

115 *JRAS* 1947 pp 30 32

116 *CII* Vol II Pt I, p xcııı

117 *Ibid* LXXVI, Pl XXVI 2 pp 142-45

118 *Ibid* LXXXVII Pl XXXII, pp 170 71

119 *CII* Vol II Pt I, p xcııı
Bıvar considers the chronological system of Wıjk best under the test of a new piece of evidence ın the form of the Surkh Kotal Inscription dated 275 He thinks that the date ıs given ın the Indo Bactrian era commencıng from 155 B C The date of the ınscrıption, therefore, comes to 120 A D The use by Kanıska or his subjects of an earlier era ın preference to his own ıs explained by the argument that the era of Kanıska had not yet been established when the ınscrıption was cut (*BSOAS*, XXVI, 1963 498—502)

120 The names of all Kusana kıngs are mentioned as rulers ın some ınscrıption or the other, but the name of Soter Megas does not occur ın any ınscrıption

121 See p 50

122 We are not ınformed about the name of the Yue-chı kıng who sent a large army against the Chinese General Panchao ın 90 A D (See pp 79 83 or of the ruler who gave shelter to a Chinese hostage ın 114 16 (See Chap 6)

123 *CII*, Vol II, Pt I, pp 138 41,
Sue Vihara ıs about 16 miles south west of Bahawalpur ın West Pakistan

124 The Junagadh ınscrıption records the repaır of the Sudarshan Lake which had been damaged ın the year 72 (correspondıng to 150 A D) The repaırs dıd not take a long tıme to be completed
Junagadh ıs situated ın Saurashtra (Gujarat)
LRB pp 86 89 ,
IA 1913 pp 188 90
EI Vol VIII pp 42f

125 *JRAS* 1939 p 239

126 *JRAS* 1939 p 229 ,
ASIR Vol XIV p 140
HIJ p 150
Rudradaman could not have claimed to occupy those terri

tories which were under the control of Kaniska Vāsiska or Huviska For the same reasons the dates 134 and 144 A D cannot be accepted. See Appendix II

127 Sanchi could not have been claimed by Rudradaman as a part of his own dominions during the rule of Vasiska as demonstrated by the Sanchi inscription of the year 28 issued during the reign of the latter (*EI* Vol II, pp 369 70)

128 *Nanjio's Catal* App 11 4
vide *HB*, Vol II, p 64 note.

129 San kuo Chih (Section Wei Chih, chapter III, p 3) vide *BG*, p 100 *CHM* iii, 1957, p 701
TP, S II Vol V p 489,
IA, 1913, p 137

130 *ASIR*, Vol II, p 68 note, and Vol III, p 30

131 *JRAS*, 1903, pp 333 ff,
Ibid, 1905, pp 223 ff 357 ff ,
Ibid, 1906, pp 706 ff, 979 ff
Ibid 1907, pp 169 ff, 1013 ff ,
Ibid, 1908, pp 177 ff ,
Ibid, 1912, p. 687 ,
Ibid 1913, pp 95 ff, 913 ff, 965 ff
Ibid, 1914, pp, 992 ff,
Ibid, 1915, pp 314 ff

132 *JRAS*, 1912, pp 665 ff, 981 ff , 1913 369 ff 661 ff, 1054 ff.

133 *BBD*, p 11

134 *BF*, p 99

135 *JRAS, 1913*, pp *942-45*

136 *IC*, Vol I, 1935, p 477

137 *OYCT*, Vol I, pp 270 71

138 The Bodh Gaya Inscription gives 544 B C as the correct date of his death (*YB*, p v f n)

139 *JRAS*, 1912, pp 667, 683 ,
Ibid, 1913, pp 122 638

140 *JRAS*, 1913, pp 921 24, 666,

141 *JRAS*, 1912, p 683 ,
Ibid, 1913, p 925

142 *JRAS* 1913, pp 665 66

143 The death (Parinirvana) of the Buddha took place in 544 B C
144 *OYCT* Vol I pp 270 71
145 *JRAS* 1942 p 15
146 *OYCT* Vol I p 224
147 *JRAS* 1913 p 943
148 *BRH II* Vol I pp 99 151
149 *JRAS* 1942 p 15
150 *JA* Ser e IX Vol VIII p 463
151 *IA* 1913 p 137
152 Letter No 98/57 dated 26 8 57 from D Schlumberger Director of the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan *BSOAS* 1960 pp 47 55 *JA* 1958 pp 384 ff See Appendix IV
153 *JRAS* 1913 p 641
154 See p 73
155 Not a single coin of Kujula Kadphises has been discovered in any of these collections
156 *ASIR* Vol XX p 37
157 *PASB* 1896 p 100
158 *ASIR* Vol XIV p 48
159 *ASIR* Vol XII p 206
160 *Ibid* Vol XII p 43
161 *JASB* 1881 p 184
162 *ASIR* Vol XI p 25
163 *ASIR* Vol X p 176
164 *JRAS* 1915 pp 195 96
165 *JRAS* 1915 pp 195 96
The fact that many coins of the Greek king Hermaeus and Kujula Kadphises and their joint issues were found in strata dating after Gondopharnes should not cause any surprise as even though these kings were contemporaries Taxila remained under the control of Gondopharnes during the period of Kujula Kadphises It was conquered by Wema Kadphises during whose rule the coins of Kujula Kadphises must have circulated there The coins of Gondopharnes and Kujula Kadphises are therefore found in separate strata But the evidence for close ranges is not always unerring

166 See f n I on p 50
167 See p 49
168 See Chap 9
169 See p 2
170 *Ibid*
171 See Chapters 3 4
172 Chapters 5 6
173 *IA* 1917 pp 261 71
174 Nanjio s Catal App 11 4
HB Vol II p 64 note
175 See Chap 3
176 See pp 68 70
177 *TP* S II V p 489
IA 1913 p 137 See p 65
178 *IA* Vol XXXIII p 108
179 *SI* pp 269 71
180 *JRAS* Vol XII 1880 pp 259 85
181 *IA* 1881 pp 213 16
182 *JA* 9e serie tome XV pp 526 79
18 *JRAS* 1913 pp 945 52
184 *CHI* Vol I pp 583 703
185 *JRAS* 1913 pp 627 50
186 *IA* 1908 pp 51 78
187 *GBI* p 352
188 *JAOS* Vol 61 1941 p 242
189 *IHQ* 1928 pp 760 64 1929 pp 49 80
190 *PHAI* pp 297 98
191 *SP* p 387
S P Tolstov has made an attempt to identify the Śaka era (78 A D) with Kaniska era on the basis of the Toprak Kala evidence (Datirovannye dokumenty iz dvortsa Toprak Kala i problems ery Saka i ery Kanishki Problemy Vostokovedeniya 1961, N 21 pp 54 71)
192 *HCIP* pp 144 45
193 *IA* 1881 p 215
194 *Maharajasa Kaneshkasa Gushana vasasam vardhaka Lala*
CII Vol II Pt I pp 145 50
195 *IA* 1881 p 215 note
196 The real date is 79 A D
197 See pp 49 50

198 The era is not called by this name in the inscriptions issued during the period of Kaniska and his successors It commences a new year with the first of Chaitra—the first month of the "Summer Season' irrespective of the actual month during which Kaniska acceded to the throne
199 See Chap 3
200 See pp 49-50
201 *IHQ*, 1929, p 71.
202 *Ibid*
203 See pp 79 ff
204 See Chap 9
205 *CBM*, p 125 No 4
206 *Ibid*, p 131, No 21
207 *Ibid*, p 138, No 23
208 *Ibid*, p 160, No 11
209 See photographs I and 3
210 See pp 68-70
211 See pp 69 70
212 See pp 68 70
213 *JRAS* 1920, pp 193 219
214 *EI*, Vol VIII, p 175
215 *CII* Vol II, Pt I pp 138-41
216 *CII* Vol II, Pt I, pp 170 171
217 *AO* 1925, pp 79 91
218 *AO* Vol V 1927 pp 168-70
219 *IHQ*, 1928, pp 760 64
220 *ZDMG*, 1880, pp 247 ff,
LRB, pp 120-29
221 *CII* Vol II, Pt I, p lxviii
222 *LRB* p 128,
223 *IA*, 9e serie, 1897, pp 123 51
224 *IA*, 1923, p 84
225 *JBBRAS*, Vol XX, pp 280 ff
226 *THA* vide AIS, Vol II, p 6
227 *LRB* p 109
228 *BG* pp 100 101 See Appendix II
229 *Ibid*, pp 99 101 See Appendix II
230 Bivar *BSOAS* XXVI, 1963, 498—502
231 See Chap 4
232 See Chap 6

233 *THA* vide *AIs*, Vol II, p 7
234 See p 75
235 See pp 79 ff
236 See p 59
237 *SRPS*, Chap 7,
IA, 1903, p 388
238 *Ibid*
239 See Bibliography
240 *FFT*, Chap 5,
IA, 1903, p 388
241 *HPS*, p 379
242 *FFT*, Chap 5,
IA, 1903, p 388
The figure nine hundred thousand men given in the text is exaggerated According to the Samyukta ratna-pitaka, the total number of men killed by him in his war was three hundred thousand (*IA*, 1903, p 387)
243 *FFT*, Chap 5,
IA, 1903, p 388
The story of the conquest is well described in the Fou fa-tsang-in-iuen tchoen —
"The total number of men in the town of Hoa chen was nine hundred thousand The king of the kingdom of the Yue-chi, Tchen tan Ki ni tcha (Devaputra Kaniska) equipped the four forces, came to Hoa-chen, and in a battle defeated its king who made his submission The conqueror demanded nine hundred thousand gold pieces The king of Hoa-chen, considering that Ma ming the Buddha's wooden bowl and a naturally compassionate cock which would not drink water containing insects, were each worth three hundred thousand pieces offered the three to Ki ni tcha, who accepted them joyfully, and retu rned to his kingdom" *FFT*, Chap 5,
IA, 1903, p 387
244 *FFT* Chap 5,
IA, 1903, p 388
245 "In the race of Kiu cha (Yue-chi) or Kusana there was a king named Tchen tan Kia ni tcha (Devaputra Kaniska) He conquered Toung Tien tchou (Eastern India) and pacified the country His power spread fear, his good fortune was complete He set out to return to his kingdom The route passed through a broad

flat land At that time, the king's heart was pleased only with the religion of the Buddha, he made it his necklace" (*SA*, Chap 6,
JA, 1927, pp 95 ff,
IA, 1903, p 385)
246 *SRPS*, vide *IA*, 1903, p 387
247 *PASB*, 1882, p 113
248 *ASIAR*, 19 4 25, pp 131-32
249 *AI* (*BASI*) No 5, 1949, p 97,
The ruins of Sisupalgarh lie about 1½ miles from Bhubaneswar, Orissa
250 *JBORS* 1919, pp 75 76
251 *Ibid*
252 *CII* Vol II, Pt I, pp 138 41
253 *CII*, Vol II Pt I, p 173
254 See Chap 4
255 See *FFT* Chap 5, IA, 1903 p 388
256 *EI*, Vol XVI, pp 19 ff
257 *IA* 1929, p 110
258 *LBI*, No 1174
259 *LBI* No 965
260 *HCW* p 101
261 *IA*, 1903, p 421,
IA 1908, pp 57 58,
HCW, p 101
262 *HCW*, p 101
263 *HHC*, vide TP 1906, pp 232 33,
IHQ, 1929, pp 65 66
For the position of the Uch Turfan, see Map V
264 *Ibid* Evidently for their ruler Kaniska (See pp 81 ff)
265 "The mountains which buttress the Pamir region on the east and divide it from the Tarim basin " (*AK*, p 27)
266 The Commander of the Chinese forces in Sinkiang
267 *HCW*, p 101
268 *HHC*, Chap 77 p 4 a,
TP, 1906 pp 232 33,
IA, 1903, p 422
IHQ 1929 pp 65-66
269 Kaniska ruled from 79 A D to 101 A D
270 *IA* Vol XXXII pp 421-22

271 The real significance of this act is not clear He wanted to convince his courtiers that he was always guided in his actions by pure motives He was prepared to face all ordeals like his ring which underwent purification in the boiling pot
272 *SRPS*, vide *IA*, 1903, p 387
273 *FFT*, Chap 5,
IA 1903, p 388
274 See p 80
275 He died in 101 A D , as, according to epigraphic evidence, his reign lasted from 79 A D —101 A D (See p 77)
276 It is situated in Sinkiang (China),
See Map V
277 *IA*, 1908, pp 57 58
278 See p 80
279 See p 83 and f n 275
280 *CBM*, p 130, Pl XXVI, 6
Ibid, p 131, Pl XXVI, 9,
CCIM, p 69
281 It represented his national costume
282 Obviously symbolising the idea of his deification
283 *Ibid*
284 *CBM*, p 133, Pl XXVII, 3
285 *CIB* Pl IV, 5 and 6,
CBM p 132, Pl XXVI, 17
286 *CIB* p 36
287 Sun god
288 *CBM*, p 129 Pl XXVI 2
289 A female deity
290 *CBM*, p 129, No 5 Pl XXVI 3 (*Copper coin*),
Ibid p 131 No 22 (Gold coin),
Ibid p 134, Pl XXVII 5 (Bronze coin)
291 Selene (Moon deity)
292 *CBM*, p 129 Pl XXVI 1
293 Aurvat ashpa the swift horsed one, and Avestan epithet of the Sun (JNSI Vol VIII, p 60)
294 *CBM*, p 130, Pl XXVI 7
295 Fire god (Persian *Ātash*=Fire)
CBM p 132, Pl XXVI
296 *CCIM*, p 69
297 Moon god (Persian *Mah*=Moon)

298 *CBM*, p 131, Pl XXVI 9 (Gold coin),
Ibid, p 133, Pl XXVII, 3 (Bronze coin)
299 Sun-god ('Mihira" is the Sanskritised form of the Persian "Mihr" which is a corruption of "Mithra", the Avestan form of the Vedic "Mitra' (*Rgveda*, III, 59 1, *CWB*, Vol IV, p 145).
300 *CBM* p 131, No 19,
Ibid, p 131, No 20,
Ibid, p 134 No 46, Pl XXVII, 4
301 Wind god (Persian Vad=Sanskrit *Vat*=wind)
302 *CBM*, p 135, Pl XXVII, 6,
CIB Pl IV, 6,
CCIM, p 74
303 War god Bahram
304 *CBM*, p 132 No 29, Pl XXVI, 15
305 Fire god (Persian *Fair*)
306 *CBM*, p 132, Pl XXVI, 16
307 Goddess Parvati, wife of Siva (Ardoksho=Ardha+Oksho= half of Śiva, *Oksho* standing for Siva, and wife being regarded as "half of ' husband"
308 *CBM* p 130 Pl XXVI, 6
309 *CBM*, p 133, Pl XXVI, 19
310 *CCIM*, p 75, No 72
311 *HIIA*, p 237, Pl XXX, No 122
312 *CCIM*, p 70,
HIIA, p 238, No 125
313 *CCIM*, p 74 No 67
314 *CBM*, p 132, Pl XXVI, 13
315 *CBM*, p 135, No 66 (Bronze coin)
316 *CBM*, p 130, Pl XXVI, 8,
CCIM, p 74,
CIB, Pl IV 4
317 *JNSI*, Vol VIII, Pl 1, 1946, Pl III, 2,
CK, Pt III, p 19
318 The Greeks resided mostly in the north western parts of his empire
319 See p 78
320 See p 87
321 See Appendix 1
322 *CBM* pp 125, 126, 128,
See pp 31 ff, 46 ff

323 *CIB*, Pl IV, 1,
CBM, p 120

324 *CBM*, p 129, Pl XXVI 1,
Ibid, p 129, Pl XXVI, 2

325 *CBM*, p 129, Pl XXVI, I, (Gold coin)

326 *CBM*, p 129, Pl XXVI, 2 (Bronze coin)

327 *CBM*, p 130, Pl XXVI, 6,
CCIM, pp 69, 73

328 *CBM*, p 133, Pl XXVII, 3,
Ibid, p 135, Pl XXVIII 6,
HIIA, p 238

329 *JRAS*, 1942 p 19

330 This date placing Kaniska in the 2nd century B C is incorrect, see pp 63 65

331 Bahlaka stands for Bahlika or Vahlika, the name of the people of Baktra or Balkh

332 The name of the king has sometimes been translated as Chandra-Kaniska it was, as the subsequent account shows, evidently Devaputra Kaniska

333 Salvation Buddha entered Nirvāna in 544 B C

334 This date is again incorrect, see p 71

335 Bahlika or Balkh

336 Tokharistan meant the country of the Tokharoi It was also called Tahia

337 In Buddhist literature, India was called Jambudvipa (OYCT, Vol I, p 131)

338 The Three Jewels or Triratna are the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha (the founder, the faith and the monastic order)

339 The Gandhāra district comprised the modern districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi (now in West Pakistan)

340 Stupas were funeral mounds among the Buddhists they were erected to enshrine some relic of the Buddha or of a Buddhist saint or else to commemorate some specially sacred spot, cf *GT* p 35 note

341 Buddhist monastic establishment

342 In ancient India one *krosa* or *kosa* measure was equal to about 1 mile 240 yards The Mughal *kosa* averaged 4558 yards (EHI, p 135 note) In this story, "One *krosa* high" should not be accepted in its literal sense It seems to convey the

idea of very high

343 *JRAS* 1942 pp 19 21
A similar story about Kaniska s vow is related in a Chinese text *Tais l o iss ai kyo* Vol 52 No 1058 p 315 column 2 translated by Sylvain Levi in *Journal Asiatique* 1896 pp 446 47 Kaniska puts a ball of clay on the stupa praying that it may become an image of the Buddha An image at once appears

344 Anand was the favourite disciple of the Buddha

345 Indra an Indian god

346 Gods

347 A cubit is an ancient measure of length 18 to 2 in

348 *ARBK* pp 33 34
TF pp 13 14

349 Vajrapani was a powerful ministerial angel of the Buddha He is represented as his body guard in Gandhara sculpture He holds a rough bone shaped thunderbolt in his hand In Amaravati and Nagarjunkonda sculpture he is shown as an attractive god with a thunderbolt three pronged on either side (*YB* p 293)

350 *Sa- Vin Yao shih* Chap 9 vide *OYCT* Vol I p 207

351 This account is based on the private records of Sung Yun and To Yung

352 The Buddha (lit he who has arrived at the truth) The Buddha referred to himself as the Tathagata after his enlightenment

353 This date is evidently wrong see p 71

354 The record of To Yung says One of the children raising himself in the air and turning towards the king repeated a verse

355 The record says 390 paces

356 The record of To Yung says It was 35 feet high

357 Most likely a mistake in the text as the height of the iron pillar was 30 feet

358 To Yung says The iron pillar was 88 8/10 feet high with fifteen encircling discs and 63 2/10 changs (743 feet) from the ground

359 The record of To Yung says 'When the king had finished all this work except getting the iron pillar up to the top, he found that he could not raise this heavy weight He proceeded therefore to erect at the four corners a lofty stage, he expended in the work large treasures, and then he, with all his court and princes ascending on to it, burnt incense and scattered flowers and with their hearts, called on the gods to help them, then with one turn of the windlass they raised the weight and succeeded in elevating it to its place The Tartars say that the four heavenly kings lent their aid in this work and that if they had not done so no human strength would have been of any avail

360 *TFS*, pp 202 205

361 One *li*=3/16th of a mile

362 Sakya muni

363 The existence of a sacred tree north west of the stūpa is also described by Sung yun, see p 92

364 This date is incorrect see pp 63ff and Appendix II

365 i e circumambulation

366 The old monastery apparently was the Kanika-Chaitya of Al beruni who refers to the Vihara (Buddhist monastery) built by him at Peshawar (*THA* vide *AIS*, Vol II, p 11)

367 *OYCT*, Vol I pp 203-11

368 Asvaghosa

369 *IA*, 1903, p 388

370 See p 121, f n 242
FFT See p 108

371 See p 78

372 *FFT*, vide *IA*, *1903*, p *388*

373 See pp 78 ff

374 See p 93

375 See p 89

376 *SRPS*, Chap 7,
IA, 1903 p 386

377 *SDPAS* Chap 5
IA, 1903 pp 387—88

378 See p 90

379 See p 92

380 See pp 90 93

381 See p 91
382 See p 91
383 See p 89
384 *Kaneshkasa vihare Mahasenasa samgharame*—
Shah ji ki Dheri Stupa Casket inscription,
CII pp 135 37,
JRAS, 1909, pp 1056 61
385 *ARBK* p 35
386 *TFS* p 203
387 *OYCT*, Vol I, p 204
388 *TFS*, p 203 See p 91 and f n 357
389 *OYCT*, Vol I p 207
390 *Ibid*
391 See p 126, f n. 358
392 See p 93
393 The mounds of Shah ji-ki-Dheri are situated east of the city of Peshawar
394 *CII*, Vol II, Pt I, pp. 135-37
JRAS 1909, pp 1056 61
395 *TFS*, p 203
396 *Ibid*
397 *OYCT*, Vol. I, p 203
Hieun Tsang relates the the story of Buddha's prophecy made to Anand, 'Four hundred years after my decease a sovereign will reign, by name Kaniska who a little to the south of this (sacred pippal tree) will raise a tope in which he will collect many of my flesh and bone relics "
398 See p 92
399 *TFS* d 204
400 *JRAS*, 1942, p 21
401 *CII Vol II, Pt I pp 135-37*,
JRAS, 1909, pp 1056 61
402 *JRAS* 1942 p 21
403 *OYCT*, Vol I, pp 208 11
404 *JA* 1895 p 357 IA, Vlo XXXIII, p 110
405 *TFS* p 203
406 *OYCT* Vol I p 205
407 *THA* vide *AIS*, Vol II, p 11
408 *JRAS* 1909, pp 1056 61
409 *JRAS*, 1909, pp 1056 61

410 *CII*, Vol II, Pt I, p 135
411. *Ibid* pp 135-37.
412 See p 77
413 *OYCT*, Vol I, p 203
414. *JRAS* 1909, pp 1056-61
415 *OYCT*, Vol I, p 203
416 *JRAS*, 1909, pp 1056-61
417. The teachings of the Buddha are collected under three collections called Pitakas (baskets), viz.
(i) The Sūtra (Pali Sutta) Pitaka containing his religious discourses,
(ii) The Vinaya Pitaka, giving the rules of monastic living ,
(iii) The Abhidharma (Abhidamma) Pitaka, expounding the metaphysics and religious philosophy of Buddhism (C P B, p 671)
418 The five sciences are grammar, mechanical arts, medicine, logic and religious philosophy (*OYCT*, Vol I P 154)
419 Rajagrha (Modern Rajgir in the Patna District of Bihar) was an important place of Buddhist pilgrimage It was the scene of a miracle in which the Buddha tamed the mad elephant, Nalagiri, which had been let loose by his jealous cousin, Devadatta. The first Buddhist council (Sangīti) was also held after his parinirvāna at this place.
Hieun Tsang has given an interesting account of the Council and its work in the Si yu-ki. —
"The Great Council was summoned by Kaniska four hundred years after the decease of the Buddha This date is not correct, vide discussion on Chronology, (Chap V, pp 63 ff). He was a great and powerful sovereign whose sway extended to many peoples In his leisure hours he studied the Buddhist scriptures, having a monk every day in the palace to give him instruction But as the Brethren taught him different and contradictory interpretations owing to the conflicting tenets of sectarians, the king fell into a state of helpless uncertainty The venerable Pārsva (Asvaghosa's preceptor—*OYCT*, Vol I, p 209) explained to His Majesty that in the long lapse of time since Buddha left the world disciples of schools and masters with various theories had arisen all holding personal views and all in conflict On hearing this the king was greatly moved and expressed to Pārśva his desire to restore Buddhism

to eminence and to have Tripitaka explained according to the tenets of the various schools Pārsva gave his cordial approval of the suggestion and the king thereupon issued summons to the holy and wise Brethren in all his realm Then came in crowds from all quarters to Gandhara where they were entertained for seven days They were too numerous however to make a good working council, so the king had recourse to process of selection First of all had to go away those who had not entered the saintly career—had not attained to one of the four degrees of perfection Then of those who remained all who were Arhats (saints) were selected and the rest dismissed Of the Arhats again those who had "the three-fold intelligence" and "the six-fold penetration" were retained and these were further thinned out by dismissing all of them who were not thoroughly versed in the Tripitaka and well learned in the "five sciences" By this process the number of Arhats for the Council was reduced to 499

The king proposed Gandhāra as the place of meeting for the Council but this place was objected to on account of its heat and dampness Then Rajagah (Rajagrha) was proposed but Parsva and others objected that there were too many adherents of other sects there, and it was decided to hold the Council in Kashmir So the king and the Arhats came to this country and here the king built a monastery for the Brethren

"When the tenents of the Tripitaka were collected for the making of expository commentaries on them, the Venerable Vasumitra was outside the door in monk s costume The other Brethren would not admit him, because he was in the bonds of the world, not an Arhat In reply to his claim to deliberate, the others told him to go away and come to join them when he attained Arhathood Vasumitra said he did not value this attainment a spittle, he was aiming at Buddha-hood, and he would not have any petty condition ('go in a small path'), still he could become an Arhat before a silk ball which he threw in the air fell to the ground When he threw the ball, the Devas (gods) said to him so as to be heard by all 'Will you here realize the petty fruit ?' The Devas kept the ball, and the Arhats made apologies to Vasumitra and invited him to become their President accepting his decisions on all disputed points

This Council compos d 100 000 stanzas of Upadesa S stras explanatory of the canonical sutras 100 000 stanzas of Vinaya Vibhash i sastras explanatory of the Vinaya and 100 000 stanzas of Abhidharma Vibhasha s istras explanatory of the Abhidharma For this exposition of the Tripitaka all learning from remote antiquity was thoroughly examined the general sense and the terse language (of the Buddh st scriptures) were again made clear and d stinct and the learn *ing was widely diffused for the safe guidance of disciples* King Kaniska had the treatises wl en finished written out on copper plates and enclosed them in stone boxes which he deposited in a Tope made for the purpose He then ordered the Yakshas (dei ies) to keep and guard the texts and not allow any to be taken out of the country by heretics those who wished to study them should do so in the country When leaving to return to his own country Kaniska renewed Asoka s gift of all Kashmir to the Buddhist Church
OYCT Vol I pp 270 71

Kaniska in the four hundred years from nirvana of Tatha gata (This date is not correct see pp 63 ff) convoked an assembly of saintly men With Vasumitra the number was 500 He ordered these sastras to be engraved on sheets of copper wl ich he enclosed in a stone chest sealed and nscribed There he built a great stupa and placed the chest within it

LHT pp 71 72

420 *RBR* p xxi
EHI p 268 f n

The Sarvastivadin was an orthodox school Its followers believed in the permanent reality of all things

421 *OYCT* Vol I p 272
422 *EHI* p 269 f n
423 Klaproth in Laidlay s Fa hian p 249 vide *EHI* p 269 f n
424 *OYCT* Vol I p 271
425 Present Jullundur (31 19 N 75 18 E) in the Punjab
426 *OYCT* Vol I p 296
427 See Bibliography under Bu ston
428 Csoma de Koros Asiatic Researches Vol XX 1836
EHI p 269 f n

The Pag sam jon-zong gives the following account of the Council, even though there is some confusion about the name of the king (Kanik) —

"Hearing that he held the third Buddhist Council in the Kundalavana Vihara the Kashmirians tell this story But the general belief is that there assembled in the monastery of Kusana in Jalandhara 500 Arhats above the rank of Srota Panna and about 5000 ordinary monks The teachings of the Buddha as prophesied in Kriki s dream were arranged The last Council was held The Tripitakas particularly the Vinaya which was formerly not put in writing were now revised Kaniska s son too in his palace called Rgas Iden maintained 10000 monks headed by 100 venerables for 5 years and helped in the preparation of many volumes of the Buddhist scripture (PASB 1910, p 480)

But the Council should be regarded as the fourth of its kind held by the Buddhists The First Council was held at Rajagrha immediately after the parinirvana of Buddha and settled the Dharma and the Vinaya The Second Council was held at Vaisali about a century after the passing of the Master, It prepared a new edition of the Dharma and the Vinaya which resulted in a schism in the Buddhist church and the secession of the Mahasañghikas Oldenberg doubts the genuineness of the first two Councils, but there is a lot of evidence against his views The Third Council was held at Pataliputra in the reign of Asoka It completed the compilation of the true Tripitaka, and despatched missionaries to foreign countries for the propagation of Buddhism Kaniska convoked the Fourth Council which collected the tenets of the Tripitaka and compiled huge commentaries on them

429 See Bibliography, under Bu ston
TN, p 268 , *EHI*, p 267 f n

430 The Council was held in the Ist century A D The date given by the Bstan gyur is, therefore incorrect

431 Sāketa was in South Oudh It can be identified with Ayodhya

432 Śravasti is represented by the modern Saheth Maheth in U P

433 Paramartha s L fe of Vasubandhu p 269 f,
Takakusu, *JRAS*, 1905 p 52

434 *YB* p 48

435 The Theravāda school was the most orthodox school of Buddhism The followers of this school admit the human nature of the Buddha, he is often represented as having human weaknesses, though he is credited with the possession of certain supernatural powers

436 *TN*, p 298,
EHI p 269 f n

437 *YB* p 49

438 *TN*, p 58,
EHI, p 269 f n

439 Nanjio Cat, *1263* *1264*,
RBR, p xxi

440 *CPB*, pp 67 68

441 *YB* p 49

442 *OICT*, Vol I, p 271

443 *RT*, 17, p 31

444 See Chap VII

445 One of the series of kings was Kanik, the same who is said to have built the Vihara (monastery) of Purushavar (Peshawar) It is called after him, Kanik-Chaitya People relate that the king of Kanauj had presented to him among other gifts, a gorgeous and most singular piece of cloth Now Kanik wanted to have dresses made out of it for himself but his tailor had not the courage to make them for he said, There is (in the embroidery) the figure of a human foot and whatever trouble I may take the foot will always lie between the shoulders *And that means the same as we have already mentioned in the* story of Bali the story of Virochana, (i e a sign of subjugation) Now Kanik felt convinced that the ruler of Kanauj had thereby intended to vilify and disgrace him, and in hot haste he set out with his troops marching against him
"When the rai heard this he was greatly perplexed, for he had no power to resist Kanik Thereupon he consulted his Vazir, and the latter said, 'You have roused a man who was quiet before and have done unbecoming things Now cut off my nose and lips, let me be mutilated, and I may find a

cunning device, for there is no possibility of an open resistance The rai did with him as he had proposed, and then he went off to the frontier of the realm

"There he was found by the hostile army, was recognized and brought before Kanik, who asked what was the matter with him The Vazir said, 'I tried to dissuade him from opposing you, and sincerely advised him to be obedient to you He, however, conceived a suspicion against me and ordered me to be mutilated Since then he has gone, of his own accord, to a place which a man can only reach by a very long journey when he marches on the high road but which he may easily reach by undergoing the trouble of crossing an intervening desert, supposing that he can carry with himself water for so and so many days" Thereupon Kanik answered, 'The latter is easily done' He ordered water to be carried along, and engaged the Vazir to show him the road The Vazir marched before the king, and led him into a boundless desert After the number of days had elapsed, the road did not come to an end and the king asked the Vazir what was now to be done Then the Vazir said, No blame attaches to me that I tried to save my master and to destroy his enemy The nearest road leading out of the desert is that on which you have come Now, do with me as you like for none will leave this desert alive'

"Then Kanik got on his horse and rode round a depression in the soil In the centre of it he thrust his spear into the earth, and lo! water poured from it in sufficient quantity for the army to drink from and to draw from for the march back Upon this the Vazir said 'I had not directed my cunning scheme against powerful angels, but against feeble men As things stand thus accept my intercession for the prince, my benefactor, and pardon him' Kanik answered, 'I march back from this place Thy wish is granted to Thy master has already received what is due to him Kanik returned out of the desert and the Vazir went back to his master, the rai of Kanauj There he found that on the same day when Kanik had thrust his spear into the earth, both the hands and feet had fallen off the body of the rai"

THA Vol II, pp 11-13

446 When he once noticed that the breasts of his queen who was wearing jacket made of cloth from Simhala (Ceylon) were marked with golden foot prints he flamed up in anger

When told on enquiry by the Chamberlain that the cloth made in Simhala was marked with the stamp of the king s foot he thereupon set out on an expedition
(*RT* Vol I p 44)

447 See p 84 and f n 282

448 *CBM* p 132 Pl XXVI 17

449 Mathura Jain Image inscription of the year 5
EI Vol I pp 381 82

450 Maharasya Kaniskasya) gra 1 (ma) hārasya Masya gutasya dhita)
EI Vol XXVIII Pt I pp 42 44

451 It is wrong to identify him with Vasiska (see Chap 6
Rajno Vaskushanasya sa 204 2 *ASIAR* 1913 14

452 See p 79

453 *POCS* 41 p 39

454 See Chap 6

455 The Sarnath Buddhist Image inscription of the year 3 was set up by them Mahakshatrapena Kharapallanena saha Kshatrapena Vanashparena ' —*EI* Vol VIII pp 177 79

456 *Kashtrapena Vanasparena Kharapallanena*
EI Vol VIII pp 173 81 No 3 a and Plate
EI Vol IX p 1 See Appendix I

457 *CII* Vol II, Pt I pp 142 45

458 *Ibid* pp 145 50

459 *CII* Vol II Pt I pp 138 41

460 *LRB* pp 86 89
IA 1913 pp 188 90
EI Vol VIII p 42f

461 *SRPS* vide IA 1903 p 387

462 *FFT* Chap 5
IA 1903 p 388

463 *SA* Chap 5
IA 1903 p 384

Kanishkapura is 10 miles to the south of Srinagar (AGI' p 99)

464 *SRPS* Chap 7,
IA 1903 p 387

465 See p 65

466 "They were on his right hand and on his left, when he was on a journey or when he was resting" *SRPS*, Chap 7,
IA 1903 p 387

467 "If the King puts in practice the secret counsels of his servant without divulging them the entire world would be submitted to his empire" —*SRPS*, Chap 7 IA 1903, p 387

468 *SRPS*, Chap 7 IA, 1903 p 387

469 Fa-iuen-tchou-lin, Chap 50,
IA, 1903, p 389

470 *EI*, Vol I, pp 387 88

471 Mathura Stone Slab inscription of the year 28
EI, Vol XXI pp 60 61,

Two guilds (one of which was that of flour-makers are mentioned in this inscription They were entrusted with an endowment for feeding the Brahmans and giving alms to the poor

472 *EI*, Vol I, p 382.

473 Agisala (Agesilaos), (probably a Greek) served in this capacity in Kaniska's Vihara (monastery) in Purushapura
(*CII*, Vol II, Pt I, pp 135-37)

474 *FFT*, Chapter 5,
IA, 1903, p 388,
Khotan MSS, *JRAS*, 1942, p 19
The four divisions consisted of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants (*OYCT*, Vol I, p 171)

475 *CII*, Vol II, Pt I, pp 145 50

476 See Chap. X

477 See p 84

478 See Chap X

479 See p 77

480 See pp 77-78

481 See Map V
482 See p 83
483 See p 109
484 See Chap IX
485 See pp 07 102
486 See p 110
487 See pp 102 105
488 See Chap VII
489 *Ibid*
490 *Ibid*
491 See p 72

6

KANISKA'S SUCCESSORS

Difficulties in the Determination of the Kusāna Genealogy

There are many difficulties which we have to encounter in dealing with the topic of Kaniska's successors Epigraphic evidence has revealed to us the names of Vasiska for the years 24-28, Huviska for the years 28-60, Kaniska (son of Vajheska) for the year 41 and Vāsudeva for the years 64-98[1] The Ara[2] inscription of the year 41 issued during the reign of Kaniska has proved extremely puzzling, as it shows clearly that his reign overlaps that of Huviska. Various theories have been propounded to determine whether the Kaniska of the Ara inscription was Kaniska I or Kaniska II The epigraphic gap relating to the years 61-63 still remains to be apportioned to the reigns of Huviska and Vāsudeva The inscriptions do not throw any light on the relationship of Kaniska's successors with one another except that the Kaniska of the Ara inscription was the son of Vajheska [3]

Numismatic evidence also does not prove of any value to us in this connection. Coins of Huviska and Vasudeva have been found in large numbers, but no coins of Vāsiska or Kaniska with the titles given to him in the Ara inscription have so far been discovered

The names of Vāsiska and Huviṣka are mentioned in the Rājatrangini in the order (Huska, Juska and Kaniska) which is just the reverse of the real order of succession, and the name of Vāsudeva does not appear at all [4]

The Tibetan sources also do not come to our assistance in solving the problem of the genealogy of the Kusāna kings Tāranāth gives the names of many Indian kings in his History of

Buddhism mentioning Kaniska but not the other early Kusana rulers [5]

The Muslim historians give the names of some Kusāna kings but do not help us in this matter Alberūni tried to find out the genealogy of the dynasty, but failed and took to fable telling. He was informed that the pedigree of the royal family, written on silk, existed in the fortress of Nagarakot and he desired much to make himself acquainted with it, but he frankly states that he could not do so for various reasons [6] That precious document or any of its copies are still not traceable

VĀSISKA

Kaniska was succeeded by Vasiska He ruled from the year 24 to the year 28 corresponding to A D 102 to A D 106 He is called Vasiska in the Isāpur inscription of the year 24[7], *Vasuska in the Sanchi Buddhist Statue inscription of the year* 28[8], and Juska in the Rajatrangini [9]

It, is however, wrong to identify him with Rajan Vaskusāna of the Sanchi inscription of the year 22[10] and to claim that he and Kaniska ruled jointly towards the close of Kaniṣka's reign, as abbreviations were not used for the names of the Kusāna kings in the inscriptions issued during their reigns

Cunningham read the date of the Sanchi inscription as 78, and Buhler who at first read it as 28 later agreed with him [11] The figure expressing 20 in the inscription is damaged and uncertain, and this led to the incorrect reading of the date by them The result was that the name Vasuska was indentified with Vasudeva, as the date 78 fell within his reign and it was inferred that the change of name from *Vasuska (resembling Kaniska and Huviska)* to Vāsudeva indicated the process of Indianization [12] But the Isapur inscription[13] of the year 24 makes it quite clear that Vāsiska was a separate person

In both inscriptions, high sounding titles (Mahārāja Rājatiraja Devaputra Shahi) are attached to his name They suggest that he must have ruled as an independent monarch The way in which his name is mentioned in the Rajatrangini as one of the Turuska kings[14] also points to the same conclusion It is rather strange that not a single specimen of his coins has so far been discovered It is possible that he issued a very small number of coins during his short reign, and that only the coins of his predecessors and

successors who issued a vast coinage during the long periods of their rule have survived and been brought to light

According to the Rajatrangini Vasiska built the towns of Juskapura and Jayaswamipura in Kashmir [15] Juskapura has been identified with Zukur a large village 4 miles to the north of Srinagar [16]

He was a Buddhist He constructed a monastery at Juskapura[17] and repaired a stupa in Mathura in the year 26 [18] A reference to his love for Buddhism seems to have been made in the statement of the Pag sam jon zang that Kaniska s son maintained 10 000 monks headed by 100 venerables for five years in his palace called Rgas I dan and helped in the preparation of many volumes of the Buddhist scripture [19] He is called a wise king in the Rajatrangini [20]

During the last year of his reign he seems to have associated his younger brother Huviska in the government of the country and allowed him to exercise ruling but not full sovereign powers as one of the feudatories calls Huviska Devaputra Shahi and invokes blessings for him (and not Vasiska) in the Mathura Stone Slab inscription of the years 28 [21] which was issued earlier than the Sanchi inscription of the same year in which Vasiska is still stated to be the supreme king with high sounding titles The Hidda inscription [23] which was issued almost about the same time as the Sanchi inscription also seems to belong to Vasiska s reign even though his name is not mentioned in it He seems to have died soon afterwards *and Huviska became king as the royal title Maharaja* Devaputra is definitely attached to the latter s name in the Mathura inscription of the year 29 [24]

HUVISKA

Huviska[25] is known as Huviska in the Bombay University Library Stone inscription of the year 45 [26] Huvaska in the Mathura Buddhist Image inscription of the year 51 [27] and the Mathura Jain Image inscription of the year 60 [28] Huvaksa in the Mathura Jain Image inscription of the year 58[29] Huveksa in the Lucknow Museum Jain Image inscription of the year 48[30] and Huksa in the Mathura inscription of the year 29 [31] He is called Huksa in the Rajatrangini[32] and OOhPKI (Ooeshki) in his coin legends [33]

He seems to have exercised some ruling powers in the year 28 during the reign of Vasiska [34] but soon afterwards assumed full

sovereign powers in all parts of the empire except the north west which came under the control of Vāsiska's son, Kaniska II[35] The north-western parts were also occupied by him before the year 51 as the Wardak Vase inscription of that date invokes blessings for him and not Kaniska II[36]

He was an ardent Buddhist He built a monastery at Mathura, references to which are made in the Mathura Buddhist Image inscription of the year 51[37] and the Mathura Buddhist Pillar Base inscription of the year 47[38] The ruins of the monastery are found at Jamalapura just south of Mathura The monastery had many pillars one of which was dedicated by the monk Jivaka[39] and the other by the monk Dharmadeva[40] An image of Ś kyamuni was set up there by the monk Buddhavarman in the year 51[41]

He built the town of Hushkapura[42] which has been identified as Uskur, a small village two miles to the south east of Baramula[43] When H eun Tsang visited Kashmir in 631 A D he enjoyed the hospitality of the Hushkapura monastery[44] The Buddhist temple at Gaya seems to have been repaired by Huviska, as an impression of one of his gold coins was found on its Vajrasana (throne) by Cunningham[45]

The system of government by Kshatrapas continued under Kaniska's successors The Manikiala Bronze Casket id inscription[46] mentions the Kapisa Kshatrapa son of the Kshatrapa G(r) anavhryaka[47]

The lord of Bakan[48] (Vakan) was one of his most trusted and faithful feudatories and the inscriptions mention some of the services which he rendered for the sake of the king According to the Mathura Stone slab inscription of the year 28, he made a ' perpetual endowment to some guilds for feeding the Brahmans in the Hall of Merit and for distributing food stuffs to the hungry and the thirsty at the entrance to the Hall with the prayer "what merit is therein, may that accrue to the Devaputra Shahi Huviska and also to those to whom the Devaputra is dear[49] An inscription on a seated image of Yama Takshama at Mat records the construction by the same feudatory (Bakanpati)[50] of a devakula (gallery of royal portraits), a garden, a tank and a well[51] Another inscription on the base of a statue at Mat describes the repair of the dilapidated devakula of Huviska's grand-father by the same lord of

Bakan for the increase of the life and strength of Maharaja Rājatiraja Devaputra Huviska[52]

Nahapana the ruler of Saurashtra and North Konkan gradually became practically independent he is called a Kshatrapa in the Nasik[53] Karle[54] inscriptions of the years 41, 42 and 45 Mahakshtrapa in the Junnar inscription of the year 46[55] and a Rajan in his coin legends[56] He issued a vast coinage, waged wars on his own initiative, and there is no doubt that he owed only nominal allegiance to Huviska He was completely crushed by Gautamiputra Satakarni who is called the uprooter of the Kshaharāta race[57] to which Nahapāna belonged[58] In the Jogaltembhi hoard of coins most of his coins are found restruck by Satakarni[59]

Chastana another Śaka feudatory, now came into prominence He ruled jointly with his grandson, Rudradaman, in Kutch with the title Rajan, as the Andhau inscription of the year 52 clearly shows[60] *He is called Rajan Mahakshatrapa Bhadramukha Svami Chastana in* a later (Jasdan) inscription of the year 127 and Rudradaman is also given the same high sounding titles in that epigraph, but Chastana s son, Jayadaman is called only Rajan Kshatrapa Svami[61] The difference in the titles Kshatrapa and Mahakshatrapa given to these rulers shows that they must have been conferred or acknowledeed by some overlord who can in this case be none other than ore of the Kusana emperors This fact is confirmed by the Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman in which he claims that he himself obtained the title of Mahakshatrapa,[62] i e he won many victories and was acknowledged as a Mahakshatrapa The title Rajan assumed by Chastana[63] and Rudradaman[64] in their coin legends and inscriptions the issue of a vast coinage by them and the non mention of any overlord indicate clearly that they exercised practically sovereign powers and owed only nominal allegiance to the Kusanas But Chastana who is called Tiastanes by Ptolemy and who had his capital at Ozene (Ujjain) according to the same source[65] was regarded as a kinsman by Huviska and was much honoured by him, as we find Chastana's statue installed in the devakula of the Kusanas at Mat[66]

The Bandhogarh inscription of the year 51[67] and the Ginja inscription of the year 52[68] mention the name of King Bhimasena His name also occurs as Vāsisthiputra Bhimasena in the Bhita Seal No 27[69] There is some controversy about the era in which these inscrip-

tions are dated but there are strong reasons for believing that they are dated in the Saka era [0] The title Maharaja attached with the name of Bhimasena and the location of the inscriptions and the seal therefore show that he ruled over parts of Rewa and Allahabad districts as a semi independent ruler during the reign of Huviska

Huviska's Coinage

Huviṣka issued a large number and variety of gold and bronze and a small number of silver coins All of them have the same legend on the obverse

PAONANO PAO OOhPKI KOPANO [1]

(Shaonano Shao Ooeshki Koshano) OOhPKI is sometimes written as OOhPKE (Ooeshke) The most common type of [1] is gold coinage shows a half length figure of the king to left on the obverse and a variety of deities on the reverse In some cases flames rise from his shoulders [3] while in others they are missing [4] The rising flames symbolise the idea of his deification

His coinage can be classified as follows —

Gold

Type I Obv Upper part of the king l emerging from clouds diadem and nimbate wearing conical helmet and coat of mail holding ear of corn and spear

Rev one of the following deities —

(i) Ardoksho [75] Legend APΔOXPO

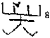
Female deity r in Greek attire holds in both hands cornucopiae to r  [76]

(ii) Artemis [77] Legend HIPO (ZEIPO) Standing r clad in chiton and himation holding in left hand bow and with r drawing arrow for quiver to r  [78]

(iii) Ashavaksho [9] Legend APAEIXPO Diadem with radiate disk r hand advanced and two fingers raised, l rests on hips to l  [80]

(iv) Athsho [81] Legend AθPO Wearing robe and cap and helmet, standing r, with hammer in r and tongs in l hand flames rising from shoulders, to r  [82]

(v) Herakles [83] Legend hPAKIΛO Bearded, l naked holds in r hand club, over l arm lion s skin in l hand apple, to l  [84]

(vi) Mao [85] Legend MAO Standing l, wearing tunic, crescent behind shoulders holding wreath in r hand, l hand on sword at side to l  [86]

or

The same legend Moon-god in voluminous drapery, standing facing, holding wreath in r hand, l on hips, to l  [87],

or

The same legend Moon-god l, holds sceptre in l, r hand advanced, to l  [88]

(vii) Miiro [89] Legend MIIPO sun-god l, nimbate, holding wreath and sceptre, sword at waist to l  [90],

or

Legend MIOPO Sun god l, radiate, holding wreath and sceptre bound with fillet to l  [91]

or

The same legend MIOPO Sun god l., radiate, holding spear in l. hand, r. on hips, sword at waist, to l.  ,[92]

or

Legend MIYPO Sun god l., diadem and radiate, holding wreath and sword, to l.  [93]

(viii) Nanaia[94] Legend NANA Female deity l., wearing stephane, holding sceptre ending in fore part of horse and patera, to l.  [95]

(ix) Oanao[96] Legend OANAO Helmeted goddess, standing holding out wreath or fillet in r. hand and carrying a trophy (sceptre with ribbon) in l.[97]

(x) Oaninda[98] Legend OANINΔA Nike standing l., holding wreath and trophy stand to r.  [99]

(xi) Oksho[100] Legend OKPO Three headed, nimbate, clad only in waist band ithyphallic, having four arms and hands, holding goat, wheel, trident and thunderbolt, to r.  [101]

(xii) Pallas[10] Legend PIDM Standing r., wearing helmet and long chiton holding spear and shield, to r.  [103]

(xiii) Pharro[104] Legend ΦAPPO, male deity l., nimbate, flames rising from shoulders, holding in extended r. hand fire, in l. sceptre, to l.  [105]

or

Same Legend Fire god standing r., nimbate, wearing tunic and cloak, r. hand extended holding fire, sword at side with l. hand resting on it, to l.[106]

or

Same Legend Fire-god r., head winged, nimbate, clad in coat, holding sceptre and fire, to r.[107]

or

Same Legend Fire god r., head winged, diadem and nimbate, clad in coat, holding sceptre and elephant goad, to l.[108]

or

Legend ΦAPO Fire-god r. head winged, nimbate, clad in coat and chlamys, holding purse and long sceptre to l.[109]

(xiv) Shaoreoro[110] Legend PAOPhOPO Ares standing r., in Greek helmet and armour holding spear in r. hand and l. hand on shield which rests on ground to r.[111]

or

Same legend, Ares l., in Greek helmet and armour holding shield in r. hand, spear in l., to l.[112]

or

Same legend, Ares r., in Greek helmet and armour, nimbate, holding spear and sword, to l.[113]

(xv) Wron Legend WPON Male deity l, bearded, wearing modius and himation r hand advanced in l long sceptre to l  [114]

II Obv Half length figure of king facing r the rest as in I.

Rev Sun god l as in I (vii) [115]

III Obv King holding double ear of corn the rest as in I

Rev Goddess Nanaia. Legend NANA Female deity r diadem and nimbate crescent on head holding sceptre and patera to r  [116]

IV Obv King holding ear of corn and sceptre

Rev (a) Shaoreoro Legend PAOPHOPO Ares r in Greek helmet and armour, nimbate holding spear and sword, to l  [117]

or

(b) Pharro Legend ϕAPPO Male deity l, nimbate flames rising from shoulders holding in extended r hand fire in l sceptre to l  [118]

V Obv King holding ear of corn and standard the rest as in I

Rev Mioro Legend MIOPO Sun god l diadem and nimbate, holding wreath and sword to l  [119]

VI Ob Half length bust of a fully armed king to l a big halo round his head holding sceptre in l and ear of corn (club?) in r hand wearing a cheek piece and round jewelled helmet

Rev Ahura Mazda Legend WOPOMOZ△O Bearded male figure, nimbate, standing to l, holding upright sceptre in l and a circular wreath in outstretched r hand to l  [100]

VII Obv Upper part of king l, emerging from clouds diadem wearing rounded helmet, holding ear of corn and elephant goad

Rev One of the following deities —

(i) Ardoksho Legend AP△OXPO, the rest as in I(i),[101]

or

Legend △OXPO Female figure l, nimbate, holding wreaths and cornucopiae, to l  [102]

(ii) Mahasena Legend MAACHNO Male deity facing, nimbate and diadem, clad in waist cloth and chlamys, holding in r hand standard surmounted by bird, in l sword, to l  [103]

(iii) Manaobago Legend MANAOBAГO Moon god, facing seated on throne, feet resting on foot-stool, wearing helmet, crescent behind shoulders having four arms and hands holding sceptre, wreath and fire in three hands, and the fourth resting on hips, to r  [104]

(iv) Mao and Miiro Legends MAO and MIIPO Moon god r diadem, crescent behind shoulders holding sceptre bound with fillet in r hand, and elephant goad in l Sun god l, radiate, r hand advanced in l sceptre bound with fillet, behind the two names MAO and MIIPO respectively, between them  [105]

(v) Miiro Legend, MIOPO Sun god l, radiate, r hand extended, in l sceptre held transversely, bound with fillet, to l ,[126]

or

The same legend Sun-god r, diadem and radiate holding wreath and sword, to r ,[127]

or

Legend MIOPO Sun-god l, radiate holding spear in l hand r on hips, sword at waist, to l [128]

(vi) Sarapis Legend CAPAΠO standing l, diadem, clad in himation r hand advanced, in l sceptre, to l [129]

(vii) Skanda and Visakha[130] Legend, CKANΔOKOMBIZAΓO Skanda and Visakha standing face to face, nimbate, each wearing chlamys and necklace and sword at waist, but Skanda holding in r. hand standard surmounted by bird Visakha holding in l hand spear, between them [131]

Skanda and Visakha Legend CKANΔOKOMAPOBIZAΓO Skanda and Visākha as above Between them [132]

(vii) Skanda, Visakha and Mahāsena[133] Legend CKANΔO-KOMAPOMAACHNOBIZAΓO Niche as basis, within which Skanda and Visakha standing as above, between them Mahāsena, facing nimbate, clad in chlamys, sword at waist, to l. [131].

VIII Obv Upper part of king l, emerging from clouds, diadem, flames rising from shoulders, wearing rounded helmet, holding ear of corn and elephant goad

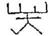
Rev (a) Oesha [135] Legend OhPA Śiva, four armed, three faced, standing facing, wearing Indian waist cloth, holding in u r hand thunderbolt, in l r hand water vessel with mouth downwards, in u l hand trident, with l l resting on club,[136]

or

Oksho (Śiva) Legend OKPO Śiva l, nimbate, wearing necklace, having four arms and hands holding vase and elephant goad, thunderbolt, trident and deer, to r  [137]

(b) Pharro Legend ϕAPPO Male deity l, head winged, nimbate, standing on fire r hand extended, in l caduceus, to  [138],

or

Pharro Legend ϕAPO Male deity l, head winged, nimbate, holding in r hand wreath, in l sceptre, to l  [139]

IX Obv king r riding on elephant, holding sceptre in r. hand and elephant goad in the l

Rev Ardoksho Legend APΔOXPO Draped female deity to r, nimbate, holding cornucopiae in both hands, monogram on r. below *cornucopiae*  [140]

X Obv king seated cross-legged on clouds, head r, diadem and helmet, holding in l standard surmounted by bird

Rev (a) Nanaia Legend NANA Female deity as in III, to r  [141],

or

(b) Nanashao Legend NANAPAO Female deity as in III, to r [14],

(c) Odho Legend OHΔO Female deity as above, to r [143]

XI Obv King seated cross legged turning to l, elephant goad in l hand and sceptre in r

Rev Herakles Legend hPAKIΛO The rest as in I (v)[144]

XII Obv Three quarter length bust of king to r on clouds, nimbate, wearing a turban with which are attached steamers and a flying animal He has a beard and full grown whiskers and moustaches He wears a coat of mail with cloak and a necklace and holds a kind of sceptre in his r hand and a standard bound with fillet and surmounted by a bird facing to r in l hand Legend PAONAOPAO OOhPKI KOPANO (SHAONAOSHAO OOESHKI KOSHANO)

Rev Pharro Legend ϕAPPO

Standing figure of the deity to r, nimbate, holding a standard bound with fillet in r hand and fire in left

(*JNSI*, 1960, p 97)

Bronze and Copper

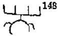
Type I Obv King r, diadem and nimbate riding on elephant, holds spear and elephant goad

Rev One of the following deities —

(a) Ardoksho Legend APΔOXP Female deity r, diadem and nimbate, *holding cornucopiae, to* r [145]

(b) Athsho Legend AθPO Male deity l, diadem holding in r hand wreath and in l tongs, to l [146]

(c) Herakles Legend HPAKΛO Herakles r, holding in r hand club 1 raised to head to r  [147]

(d) Mao Legend MAO Moon god 1 crescent behind shoulders, r. hand extended, grasping sword with 1 to 1  [148]

(e) Miiro Legend MIIPO Sun god 1, radiate r hand extended, grasping sword with 1, to 1  [149]

(f) Oksho Legend OKPO Śiva standing 1 four armed, holding wreath, thunderbolt trident and goat, to 1  [150]

or

Same legend Śiva holding a vase in fourth hand,[151]

or

Same legend Śiva standing 1 two armed holding in r hand trident, in 1 vase and lion s skin, to 1 

to r  [15]

II Obv King diadem riding elephant r holding sceptre in r and elephant goad in 1 hand

Rev (a) Herakles Legend HPAKΛO Figure as in I (c)[153]

or

(b) Archer standing r holding a bow as long as himself legend r in peculiar characters which look like old Brāhmi for Ganesa[154]

III Obv King facing head r seated cross legged on cushions body radiate in 1 hand sceptre

Rev (a) Ardoksho Legend APΔOXP Female deity as in I(a) to 1  [155]

or

(b) Athsho, legend, AθPO, holding wreath in extended r. hand to l 

(c) Nanaia Legend NANA Nimbate, holding sceptre, to r  [157]

IV Obv King seated as above, but l hand raised

Rev Mao Legend MAO, Moon-god l, crescent behind shoulders, r hand advanced, grasping sword with l, to l  [158]

V Obv King facing, seated cross legged on cushions, but not nimbate, in l hand sceptre

Rev Mioro Legend MIOPO Sun god l radiate holding wreath in r and sword in l to l  [159]

VI Obv King, head and body radiate, half reclining, facing, on throne

Rev (a) Mao Legend MAO Moon god l, as in IV, to l  [160]

or

(b) Oksho Legend OKPO Śiva, facing, nimbate head l, four arms and hands, holding wreath, thunderbolt vase and trident, to l [161]

Silver

They are very rare In one of them, Huviṣka is represented by his bust, facing right and wearing a coat of mail and round crown bound with fillet

On another coin, we find three quarter length figure of king to l wearing a crested helmet, holding a sort of sceptre in r hand

and an elephant-goad in l hand, and on the obverse two deities (NANA and OKSHO) facing each other standing on a pedestal and between them the monogram

It is quite obvious that the number of deities which Huviska depicted on his coinage was greater than those which were displayed by his predecessors or successors They were drawn from different sources .—

Greek or Semi-Greek	*Iranian*	*Indian*
Artemis (Zeiru)	Ahura Mazda	Ardoksho
Herakles	Ashaviksho	Mahasena
Nana	Athsho	Śiva (Oksho)
Odno[162]	Mao	Skanda
		Visakha (Bizago)
Pallas	Miiro	Ganesa
Sarapis	Monabagao	
	Nana	
	Nanashao	
	Oanao	
	Oaninda	
	Pharro	
	Shaoreoro	
	Wron[163]	

The respect which he showed to them by portraying them on his coinage shows his liberal-minded views

KANISKA OF THE ARA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 41

There is a lot of controversy about the identity of Kaniska of the Ara inscription of the year 41,[164] as his reign overlaps that of Huviska who ruled during the years 28 60 [165] Banerji tried to reconcile the apparent contradiction by assuming that Kaniska of the Ara inscription was the same person as Kaniska I who was campaigning in northern and north-western frontiers, leaving the government of India in the hands of his eldest son (Huviska), that he was defeated by Pan chao but that he reclaimed the lost provinces and added Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan to his empire after the death of the Chinese commander [166] Smith supported him in his views by stating that Vāsiska and Huviska were sons of Kaniska who acted in succession as viceroys of Upper India while their father was warring beyond the mountains, and

that Vasiska predeceased his father and was succeeded by Huviska.[167] But epigraphic evidence proves that Banerji and Smith were completely mistaken in their views. The high sounding imperial titles given to Vāsiska in the opening words of the Isapur inscription of the year 24[168] and the Sanchi inscription of the year 28[169] and to Huviska in the opening words of the Chhargaon Naga inscription of the year 40[170] clearly show that they were issued during the reigns of Vāsiska and Huviska, and not that of Kaniska.

It may be alleged that the wording of the Ara inscription does not imply the overlapping of any reign, that the introductory words *Kaniskasa samvatsarae ekachaparisae* literally mean "in the year 41 of Kaniska" and that they refer to the era founded by Kaniska and not to the reigning king. This explanation is not justified, as we cannot expect the inscription to be silent about the reigning king when even the descent and full titles of Kaniska are mentioned: *Maharajasa Rajatirajasa Devaputrasa (K)i(sa)rasa Vajheskaputrasa Kaniskasa samvatsarae ekachaparisae.* Moreover, the introductory form used in the inscription, i.e. the titles and name of the king in the genitive case followed by the date of the issue of the inscription indicated the name of the reigning king in all the inscriptions of Kaniska and his successors. For example, the words *Maharajasya Rajatirajasya Huviskasya savatsare Chaturisa*[171] mean "in the fortieth year, during the reign of the Great King, the King of Kings, Huviska", they do not convey the sense "in the fortieth year of the era founded by Huviska". Similarly, the words *Maharajasya Vasu (devasya) savatsarae 70+4*[172] in the Mathura Stone Slab inscription of the year 74 convey the idea of the reigning king and not that of the era founded by the king named in it.

Luders and Konow considered that Kaniska, son of Vajheska of the Ara inscription, was Kaniṣka II, son of Vāsiska; they identified Vajheṣka with Vāsiska. Luders pointed out that Kaniska bore those titles in this inscription which are not applied to him anywhere else and that his characterisation as the son of Vajheska which too did not appear anywhere else gave an impression that they were added in order to differentiate this Kaniska from the other king, his name-sake. He thought that Kaniska II was the son of Kaniska I, as grandsons are often named after their grandfathers.[173] Banerji read the name of Kaniska's father as

"Vasispa"[174], while Fleet deciphered it as "Vajheṣpa',[175] but the reading "Vajheska" given by Luders and Konow is more reasonable In the first place, as pointed out by Luders the compound "sk" has exactly the same shape in the Zeda inscription It is quite true that it is different in Kaniskasa in 1 2 of the inscription, but we find the same letter taking different shapes in the same inscription in other cases also as the inscription was first drawn up with ink and was then executed by some engraver or mason who were usually not literate [176] The compound 'sp does not occur in any other Kusana Kharoshthi inscription and the analogy from the Kusana names Kaniska Vasiska and Huviska strongly favours the reading Vajheska The name Vajheska or Vajheska sounds so near Vasiṣka that both forms appear to be *an attempt to reproduce in an Indian alphabet one and the same* foreign name The names of Vasiska[177] and Huviska[178] also appear in different forms in various inscriptions There is no doubt that Kaniska of the Ara inscription was Kaniska II son of Vasiska

But it is difficult to determine the order and dates of succession of Vasiska, Huviska and Kaniska II It is not safe to try to solve this problem by comparing the titles given to them in different inscriptions as these records were only private documents and the titles given to a king were merely matters of accident For example Kaniska is called Maharaja in the Kosam inscription of year 2[179] and the Sarnath inscriptions of the year 3 [180] Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra Shahi in the Mathura inscription of the year 7 [181] Mahārāja again in the Mathura inscription of the year 9 [182] Maharaja Devaputra in the British Museum inscription of the year 10 [183] and Maharaja Rājatiraja Devaputra in the Sue Vihara inscription of the year 11 [184] It does not mean that Kaniska was at the zenith of his power during the year 7, but suffered set backs during the years when full titles are not given to him in the inscriptions Similarly sometimes many titles are attached to Huviska's name in the inscriptions issued during his reign at other times only a few are added ,[185] they do not imply any enhancement or diminution of his status at different periods The case would have been different if a Mahārāja had been described as a mere Rajan or Kshatrapa

There is no denying the fact that Kaniska (II) was ruling as a King with full sovereign powers in the year 41, as the titles given to

him in the Ara inscription clearly indicate It is also obvious that he was the sovereign of the north western parts of India (now Pakistan), as Ara is two miles from Bagnilab which is about ten miles south south west from Attock Different stories are related about the sequence of other events which occurred during the years 11 58 Some of them are vague, and others are decidedly misleading

Luders thought that Kaniska was followed by Vasiska during the years 11-24,[186] but we can now say definitely that Kaniska continued to rule till the year 23[187] and that Vasiska succeeded him during the year 23 24 [188] Konow was of the opinion that Huviska was installed in the eastern provinces some time between the years 23 and 33,[189] but we are now certain that Vasiska continued to rule there up to the year 28[190] and that he was succeeded by Huviska in the eastern parts of the empire during the year 28 29 [191] Mirashi visualized a joint rule by Huviska and Kaniska II during the years 41 58 by misreading the date of the inscription of the year 14 as 54 and by giving an analogy of the joint rule of Chastana and Rudra daman over Malwa as stated in the Andhau inscription of the year 52 [192] But he forgot that the Andhau inscription mentions the names of both the joint rulers,[193] while the Ara inscription gives the name of one supreme ruler during whose reign the inscription was issued

Dikshit puts forward a new theory that there were two Kanis kas—one a predecessor of Vasudeva and the other a successor The first Kaniska ruled from the year 1 (or 201 of the Vikrama era corresponding to 144 A D), and the second Kaniska ruled from the year 41 (or 341 of the Vikrama era corresponding to 283 A D) [194] But there is nothing to support his theory of omitted hundreds for calculating dates while no great Kusana king seems to have ruled in the 3rd century A D

As a matter of fact, Kaniska II was the son of Vasiska, and succeeded to the north western parts of the empire during the year 28 29 when Huviska began to exercise sovereign powers in the rest of the empire Kaniska II was certainly a great king and has been aptly called Kaiser in the Ara inscription His name was feared by the vassal States of China east of the Tsong ling He welcomed a hostage from one of those States and restored him to his kingdom (Kashgar) in 120 A D The story of this exploit is related in the Heou Han Chou —

'During the rule of the emperor Ngan during the period Yuan tchou (114-16 A.D.), Ngan Kouo, king of Soule (Kashgar) got offended with his uncle and Prime Minister Tchen Pan and exiled him as a hostage to the king of the Yue chi. The Yue-chi king loved him very much ...... When Ngan Kouo died without leaving an issue, his mother directed the government of the Kingdom; she arranged with the people of the country to place on the throne, as king of Soule, Yi-fou who was the son of the younger brother of Tchen-Pan ...... Tchen Pan claimed his right to be the king. The Yue-chi sent soldiers to escort and carry him to Soule ...... The people of the latter kingdom had for a long time respect and affection for Tchen Pan, besides they feared the Yue chi; they arranged, therefore to despoil Yi fou of his seal and ribbon and to go before Tchen Pan whom they nominated king.'[195]

This story found an echo in the account given by Hieun Tsang about the refugee residing at the court of Kaniska :—

'When Kaniska was reigning the fear of his name spread to many regions so far even as the outlying vassals of China to the west of the Yellow river. One of the vassal States being in fear sent a hostage to the court of king Kaniska, the hostage being apparently a son of the ruler of the State. The king treated the hostage with great kindness and consideration.'[196] In the Life of Hieun Tsang, Shaman Hwui Li seems to refer to the same hostage when he talks of the Shalo kia temple in Kapisa where he (the hostage) had deposited a great treasure under the foot of the image of the great spirit king for the after repairs of the building.[197]

Now, Kaniska II of the Ara inscription was ruling in the year 41, i.e. 119 A.D., according to the system of chronology adopted in this Thesis. It is therefore quite obvious that Hieun Tsang's account refers to that Kaniska even though he does not make any distinction between Kaniska I and Kaniska II.[198]

No coin of Kaniska II has so far been definitely identified, most probably because he resembled his grandfather in appearance, rendering it difficult to make any distinction between their figures on their coins. It is possible that many coins of Kaniska found in north-western India (now Pakistan), Khotan and Kashgar[199] belong to Kaniska II and not Kaniska I. This view is confirmed by the discovery of certain coins on which the legend "KANHPKO" is invariably given but on which the king's skirt is straight (a style

different from that of Kaniska I) while the fabric and style of the reverse of which is close to that of Vasudeva The device which they bear on the reverse led Cunningham to assert rightly that they did not belong to Kaniska I [00] One of them slightly cup shaped has been described by Martin as showing a king standing at altar on the obverse and a goddess holding a noose and sceptre seated on a lion on the reverse "[01] These coins may be attributed to Kaniska II

After his death which seems to have occurred before 129 A D Huviska extended his authority over the north western portion of the Kusana empire for in that year (Sam 51) Huviska is mentioned as king (Maharaja Rajatiraja) in the Kharoshthi inscription which was found at Wardak to the west of Kabul [0]

VASUDEVA

(a) *Period of His Reign*

According to epigraphic evidence so far available Vasudeva ruled from the year 64 [03] to the year 98 [01] corresponding to A D 142 to 176 There is one record of the year 60 which was issued during the reign of Huviska [05] The Und and the Mathura inscriptions of the years 61 [06] and 62 [0] respectively do not mention the name of any king So there is a gap of some years to be assigned to the reign of either Huviska or Vasudeva Vasudeva was most probably the son of Huviska and succeeded him some time between the years 60 64 He is known as Bazodeo (BAZO△HO) in his coin legends [08] Bhandarkar wrongly indentified him with Vasiska or Vasuska [09]

As regards the end of his reign there is no inscription which bears the name of any Kusana ruler after the year 98 There is one record of the year 99 [10] but it does not mention the name of any king It appears that the year 98 marked the close of his reign But his successors continued to rule long afterwards over the Punjab the Kabul Valley and Seistan as ordinary rulers as testified by the find spots of their coins [11]

(b) *Decline of the Kusana Power*

It is interesting to observe that all the inscriptions issued during his reign have been found from Mathura But that does not mean that his authority was confined only to that area The discovery of a large number of his coins, especially of copper coins in the north

western parts of the empire leaves no room for doubt that those territories were also under his control Excavations at the Dharmarājika stūpa site in Taxila have revealed a big deposit of 531 copper coins in a small earthen jar from cell No 16 of the monastery, out of which except for a single coin of Kaniska, the entire hoard consisted of Vasudeva's coins A small copper casket picked up from the debris also yielded 5 copper coins of the same king "1"

There is, however, no denying the fact that the authority of the central government began to decline during his rule The Kabul Museum Stone inscription of the year 83 states explicitly that it was issued during the reign of Tiravharna, the Kshatrapa of Purusha pura,"[13] it makes no reference to any Kusāna king It is quite obvious that the Kashatrapa owed only nominal allegiance to the Kusana overlord Rudradaman, the ruler of Malwa and Saurashtra, now became practically independent, he claimed that he had acquired the title of Mahakshtrapa by his own prowess,"[14] he waged wars on his own initiative, defeated Sātakarni, the king of the south, conquered Sauvīra"[15] and crushed the Yaudheyas who were well known for their martial qualities[16] and seem to have revolted against the Kusana rule But these victories were won for self-aggrandisement and glorification of the Mahakshtrapa only, there is absolutely no reference to the Kusana king in the Junagadh inscription where they are recorded "[17]

Though the titles used in connection with the Kusana kings in the contemporary inscriptions are not always a safe guide to their status, yet some inference can be drawn from the ordinary title Rajan given to Vasudeva in the Mathura Jain Image inscription of the year 98"[18]—a title which was never before given to him or to any of his predecessors The other titles which are associated with him are 'Maharaja Rajātiraja Devaputra" in the inscription of the year 74"[19] "Maharaja' in the inscriptions of the years 80[20] and 83,[21] 'Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra Shahi' in the inscription of the year 84[22] and "Mahārāja Rājatiraja Shahi" in the inscription of the year 87[23] It is quite obvious that there was a great decline in his power during the closing years of his reign This decline synchronises with the revolt of the Yaudheyas and the rise of the Naga and the Magha kings to power

Many coins of the Naga kings have been found in the Punjab, U P and Madhya Pradesh (especially at Mathura)"[24] and Padam

Pawaya (ancient Padmavati) One of them, Virasena, is called Svami (Sovereign) in the Jankhat inscription issued during the 13th year of his reign (Svamisa Vīrasenasa samvatsare 10 3)[25] The letters in the inscription resemble those which are found in the inscriptions of Vasudeva[26] He was most probably a contemporary of Vasudeva The names of some other Naga kings such as Nava Naga and Bhava Naga have also been recovered from coins[27] Bhava Naga can be easily identified with the great Bhārasiva king mentioned in the Seoni Copper Plate grant of Vakātaka king, Pravarasena[28] According to this inscription, Bhava Naga belonged to a race of conquerors who were anointed with the unsullied waters of the Bhagirathi (Ganga) they had performed their sacred bath on the completion of their Dasasvamedha sacrifice[29] His coins have been found in large numbers in Padam Pawayā,[30] and his predecessors seem to have driven the Kusanas from that area Vïrasena also seems to have waged a war against Vasudeva, reduced his power and ousted him from Mathura The Vayu Purana provides a sufficient testimony to the establishment of Naga rule over Mathura

> "*Mathuram cha purim ramyām*
> *Naga bhoksyanti sapt vai*
> *Anugangā Prayagam cha Sāketam Magadhāmstatha,*
> *Etanjanapadānsarvanbhoksyante Guptavamsjā*"[31]

(The seven Nagas will enjoy [rule over] the pleasant city of Mathura and the Gupta dynasty will rule over all these countries, along the banks of the Ganga to Prayāga [Allahabad], Saketa and Magadha)

The Vişnu Purana corroborates this statement and also refers to the establishment of the Naga power over Kāntipuri and Padmavati

> "*Navanāgah Padmāvatyām Kāntipuryam Mathurayām, Angangā Prayagam Magdhām Guptasch bhoksyanti*"[32]

(Navanāga will rule over Padmāvatī, Kantipuri and Mathura, and the Guptas will rule along the Ganga to Prayaga and Magadha)

The "Magha" kings asserted their independence in the territories of Bandhogarh[33] and Kausambi (Kosam) The Bandhogarh records[34] of the years 86, 87 and 88[35] of Mahāraja Kautsiputra

Pothasri, the son of Bhimasena, and his copper coins with the legend Prashthaśriya found at Bhita[236] show that he became practically independent during the reign of Vāsudeva At the same time Pothasri's son, Bhadra-magha or Bhadra-deva, began to rule independently, at first, at Kausambi and later at Bandhogarh also, as he issued a large number of coins and bore the title Mahārāja in the Kosam inscriptions of the years 81[237], 87,[238] and 88[239] and the Bandhogarh inscription of the year 90[240] He was followed by Śivamagha who bore the legend "Mahārāja Gautamiputra Śiva-maghasya", [241] the coins of the latter have been found in the Fatehpur hoard [242] The Kuṣana power was, thus, extremely weakened during the reign of Vasudeva

(c) *His Coinage*

He issued gold[243] and copper[244] coins—staters as well as quarter staters, with legends in Greek script They do not offer much variety in types On the obverse, they always bear the legend "PAO NANO PAO BAZOΔhO KOPANO' (Shaonano Shao Bazodeo Koshano), "the King of Kings, Vasudeva, the Kusana), and on

the reverse, the monogram  invariably makes its appearance

This monogram is not found on the coins of his predecessors The king wears the typical Central Asian dress which was also used by Kaniska, and holds his right hand over an altar Śiva and Nanaia are the only two deities which are depicted on the reverse, Nanaia appearing only in a very few cases His coinage may be classified as follows —

Type I Obv The king l, wearing trousers a conical helmet, a suit of mail, diadem and nimbate, in l hand a spear

Rev Legend NANA, the deity Nanaia r, nimbate head surmounted by crescent, holding sceptre ending in fore-part of horse, and patera, monogram to r [245]

II Obv The same as (I)above

Rev Śiva Legend OKPO Śiva facing having three faces and two arms, holding wreath and trident, monogram to l [246]

III Obv The king l standing at altar, clad as in (I) above, standard behind head

Rev Śiva Legend OKPO Śiva facing, having three faces and two arms, holding wreath and trident, behind him bull l, monogr to r [24]"

IV Obv The king l dressed as in (I) above standing at *altar, beside which trident fixed in the ground*

Rev Legend OKPO Śiva, one-headed, facing, holding wreath and trident, behind him bull l, monogr to l "[48]

V Obv The name as (I) above

Rev Śiva, standing, three-faced, four armed, wearing dhoti and yajñopavīta, holding pāsa (noose) in u r hand, trident in u l hand, water vessel in l l hand, l r hand in *abhaya mudrā* (act of blessing) "[49]

VI Obv The king holding sceptre (not spear) in l. hand, the rest as in (I) above

Rev Legend OHPO (Oesho) Śiva, nimbate, wearing dhoti, r hand on the head of the elephant, l hand holding a trident, three pronged symbol above the back of the elephant "[50]

We can safely draw many inferences from his coinage The representation of the king with a nimbus reveals his belief in the celestial origin of kingship The depiction of Śiva on most of his coins shows that god to be his most favourite deity But he was not a bigoted worshipper of that powerful god, he had great reverence for Nanaia also His faith in the worship of fire is testified by the portrayal of his royal figure offering oblations at fire altar on the obverse of his coins

There are many barbarous imitations of his coinage, they repeat barbarously his legends and types,"[51] and eventually become of thin fabric and cup-like shape "[5] They were issued either by local rulers during the period of unrest which prevailed in the last years of his reign, when the authority of the central government had become very weak,"[53] or by his weak successors after his death

FOOT NOTES

1 Basham has written an interesting article on the topic of "The Succession of the Line of Kaniska" vide BSOAS, 1957, pp 77-88
See also p 59

2 Ara is two miles from Bagnilab which is about 10 miles south-west from Attock (Pakistan) The inscription is on a small piece of stone, extremely rough and uneven (*CII*, Vol II, Pt I, pp 162-65)

3 '*Maharajasa Rajatirajasa Devaputrasa (K)i (sa)-rasa Vajeshka-putrasa Kaniskkasa*"
CII, Vol II, Pt I, pp 162-65
The Mat inscription on the statue of Vama Takshama indirectly suggests that Wema Kadphises was the grandfather of Huviska
See p 58

4 *RT*, Vol I, 168, p 30

5 *TN* 2, 58, 89 vide *IA*, 1903 p 382

6 *THA* vide *AIS*, Vol II, p 11

7 *EI*, Vo II, p 369

8 *FI*, Vol II, pp 369 70

9. *RT* Vol I, 168, p 30

10 *MS*, Vol I, p 386

11 *EI*, Vol. II, pp 369 70

12 *IA*, 1908 p 61

13 It was issued during the reign of Vāsiska during the 24th (*Chaturvimśe*) *year, but Vasudeva continued to rule up to the* 98th year

14 *RT*, Vol I, 168, p 30

15 *RT*, Vol I, 169, p 30

16 *AGI*, p 101

17 *RT*, Vol I, 169, p 30

18 *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p 132
The date 76 given by Fuhrer is evidently wrong

19 *JASB*, 1910, p 480
Taranāth mentions Pushkalavati as the royal residence of Kaniska's son (*TN*, Chap xiii, p 62)

20 *RT*, Vol, I, 169, p 30

21 Issued *on the* Ist *day of Gurpiaios i e* Bhadrapada corresponding to August
EI, Vol XXI, pp 55 61

22 Issued on the 5th day of the Ist month of winter i e Margasiras corresponding to November
EI, Vol II, pp 369-70

23 *CII*, Vol II, Pt I, p 158

24 *EI*, Vol II, p 206

25 Chhargaon (now Mathura Museum) Naga inscription of the year 40, *LBI*, No 149 b p 175
Mathura Jain Stone inscription of the year 48
IA, Vol XXXIII, p 103

26 *JBBRAS*, 1902, pp 269 f

27 *EI*, Vol X, pp 112 13

28 *EI*, Vol I, p 386,
IA, Vol XXXIII, p 105

29 *EI*, Vol X, pp 113 14

30 *EI*, Vol X, p 112

31 *EI* Vol II, p 206

32 *RT*, Vol I, 168 p 30

33 *CBM*, p 144, No 71, Pl XXVIII, 7

34 See above p 140

35 See p 157

36 *CII*, Vol II, Pt I, pp 165 70

37 *EI*, Vol X, pp 112-13

38 *IA*, Vol XXXIII, p 101

39 *Ibid*, p 101

40 *Ibid*, p 101

41 *EI*, Vol X, pp 112 13

42 *RT*, Vol I 168, p 30

43 *AGI*, p 99

44 *LHT*, p 68

45 *IHQ*, Vol XXVII, 1951, p 295

46 It most probably belongs to the period of Huviska, as the casket contained a gold coin of that king

47 *CII* Vol II, Pt I, pp 150 51

48 Vakan can be identified with Wakhan

49 *EI*, Vol XXI pp 55-61

50 His name is lost but commences with the syllable Huma.

51. *ASIAR* 1911-12, pp 124 25

52 *JRAS*, 1924, pp 401-03

53 *SI*, pp 157 ff, 160 ff, 164 f, 165,
EI Vol VIII, pp 78 ff, 82 ff

54 *SI*, p 165 EI, Vol VII, pp 57 ff

55 *SI*, p 166
ASIR Western India Vol IV, p 103

56 *JNSI* Vol XVII, Pt 1, 1955, p 92,
JBBRAS Vol XXII p 223

57 *EI*, Vol VIII, p 60

58 "*Rajño Kshaharatasa Nahapānasa*
JNSI, Vol XVII 1955, p 92

59 *JBBRAS*, Vol XXII, p 223,
EI, Vol XVI, pp 23ff,
SI, pp 167-69

60 *Rajña Chastanasa Ysamotika-putrasa rajña Rudradamansa Jayadama putrasa varshe dvipañcāse*
EI, Vol XVI, pp 19-25

61 Jasdan inscription,
EI Vol XVI, p 238.
Jasdan is situated in Saurashtra (Gujarat)

62 *Svyamadhigatamahakshatrapanamna*
LRB p 96

63 *Rajño Mahakshatrapasa* (*Ysamotikaputrasa*) *Chasṭanasa* ,
JNSI, Vol XVII, Pt I, 1955, pp 93-95.

64 *JRAS*, 1899, p 351

65 *AIP* p 152

66 *JBBORS* 1919, p 511,
See pp 141 42

67 *NHIP*, p 42
CHIS, p 259

68 *ASIR*, Vol XXI, p 119, Pl XXX

69 *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p 51

70 See pp 161 62

71 *CBM* p 149, No 114, Pl XXVIII 23

72 *CBM* p 153 No 140

73 *CBM* p 141 No 43

74 *CBM* p 141, No 45, Pl XXVIII, 1

75 See Chapter 5, Coinage of Kaniska

76 *CBM* p 137 Pl XXVII, 10,

77 Artemis is the personification of the fructifying and all nourishing powers of nature

78 *CBM* p 144 No 71 Pl XXVIII, 7, *JRAS* 1908, p 55

79 Sun god

80 *CBM*, p 136 No 4 Pl XXVII 9

81 Fire god

82 *CBM* p 136 No 1 Pl XXVII, 8

83 Renowned hero of antiquity

84 *CBM* p, 138, No 22 Pl XXVII 15

85 Moon god

86 *CBM* p 139, No 27, Pl XXVII, 18

87 *CBM* p 77 No 5 Pl XII 10

88 *CCIM* p 77, No 8 Pl XII, 11

89 *CBM*, p 139, No 30 Pl XXVII, 19

90 *CBM*, p 143, No 43

91 *CBM*, p 141 No 46

92 *CBM* p 142, No 54 Pl XXVIII 4

93 *Ibid*, p 142 No 48

94 Female deity

95 *CBM*, p 144, No 72 Pl XXVIII 8

96 Nike

97 *CCIM*, p 78, Pl XII, 13

98 Nike

99 *CBM* p 147, No 95, Pl XXVIII 13

100 Śiva

101 *CBM* p 148, No 102, Pl XXVIII, 16

102 War deity

103 *CBM*, p 149, No 109, Pl XXVIII, 20

104 Fire god
105 *CBM*, p 151, No 120, Pl XXVIII, 26
106 *CBM*, p 150, No 116, Pl XXVIII, 25
CCIM, p 79, No 20, Pl XII, 15
107 *CBM*, p 151, No 121 Pl XXVIII, 27
108 *CBM*, p 151, No 124, Pl XXVIII, 29
109 *Ibid*, p 151, No 123, Pl XXVIII, 28
110 War god
111 *CBM*, p 148, No 103, Pl XXVIII, 17,
CCIM, p 79,
BIC, p 59
112 *CBM*, p 148, No 107, Pl XXVIII, 18
113 *CBM*, p 148, No 108, Pl XXVIII, 19
114 *Ibid*, p 153, No 138, Pl XXVIII, [32
115 *NS*, Vol XLV, 1934, p 327
116 *CBM*, p 145, No 76, Pl XXVIII, 9
117 *CBM*, p 148, No 108, Pl XXVIII, 19
118 *Ibid*, p 151, No 120, Pl XXVIII, 26
119 *CBM*, p 141, No 47
120 *JNSI*, Vol XIII, ii, pp 175 77
121 *CBM*, p 137, No 14,
Ibid, p 137, No 17, Pl XXVII, 11
122 *CBM*, p 138, Pl XXVII, 13
123 *CBM*, p 138, No 23 Pl XXVII, 16,
CCIM, No 3 p 76, Pl XII, 8
124 *CBM*, p 139, No 25, Pl XXVII, 17
CCIM, p 74, No 4 Pl XII, 9
125 *CBM*, p 141, No 42, Pl XXVII, 24
126 *CBM*, p 143, No 49,
CCIM, p 77, No 9
127 *CBM*, p 143, No 67, Pl XXVIII, 5
128 *CBM*, p 142, No 54 Pl XXVIII, 4
129 *Ibid*, p 149, No 110, Pl XXVIII, 21
130 Indian deities
131 *CBM*, p 149, No 112, Pl XXVIII, 22

132. *Ibid*, p 149, No 114, Pl XXVIII, 23
133. Indian deities
134 *CBM*, p 150, No 115 Pl XXVIII, 24
135 Siva
136 *CCIM*, p 78, No 15 Pl XII, 14
137 *CBM*, p 147, No 97, Pl XXVIII, 14
138 *CBM*, p 153, No 137, Pl XXVIII, 31
139 *Ibid*, p 152 No 131, Pl XXVIII, 30
140 *Ibid*, p 137, No 18, Pl XXVII, 12,
JNSI, Vol XIII, ii, p 148, Pl VII, 2
141 *CBM*, p 145, No 82, Pl XXVIII, 10
142 *Ibid*, p 145, No 83
143 *Ibid*, p 146, No 94, Pl XXVIII, 12
144 *CIB*, Pl IV, 8
145 *CBM*, p 154, No 143,
CCIM, p 80
146 *CCIM*, p 79
147 *CBM*, p 154, No 146, Pl XXIX 1
148 *Ibid*, p 154, No 147, Pl XXIX, 2
149 *Ibid*, p 154 No 155,
CCIM p 80
150 *CBM*, p 155, No 158
CCIM, p 80.
151 *CBM*, p 155, No 159, Pl XXIX, 3
152 *CBM*, p 155, No 160,
CCIM, p 81
153 *CCIM*, p 79, No 26
154 *CCIM*, p 81, No 46, Pl XIII, 4,
JASB, Pt I, 1897, p 3, Pl 1 6
155 *CBM*, p 156, No 169
156 *CCIM*, p 80, *CBM*, p 156, No 166
157 *CBM*, p 158, No 191, *CCIM*, p 80
158 *CBM*, p 156 No 171 Pl XXIX, 4
159 *CBM*, p 157, No 184, Pl XXIX 6
160 *Ibid*, p 157, Pl XXIX, 5

161 *CBM*, p 15 , No 194, Pl XXIX, 9

162 *JNSI*, Vol II p 113

163 *JNSI* 1960, p 100

164 *CII*, Vol II Pt I pp 162 65

165 See pp 140 41

166 *IA*, 1908, p 59

167 *EHI*, p 270

168 "*Mahārajasya Rājātirājasya Devaputrasya Shaher Vāsishkasya rajyasamvatsare* "
JRAS, 1910, pp 1311 15

169 "*Maharajasya Rajatrajasya Devaputrasya Shahi Vasushkasya sam* '
EI, Vol II, pp 369 70

170 ' *Maharajasya Rajatirajasya Huviskasya Savatsare*
CAMM, pp 88 f

171 *Chhargaon Naga* inscription of the year 40,
CAMM, pp 88 ff

172 *EI*, Vol IX, pp 241 46

173 *IA*, 1913, p 135

174 *IA* 1908 p 59

175 *EI*, Vol XIV, p 130

176 *EI* Vol XIV, p 130

177 See p 139

178 See p 140

179 *EI*, Vol XXIV pp 210 12

180 *EI*, Vol VIII, pp 177 79

181 *EI* Vol I p 391

182 *JRAS* 1909, p 465

183 *EI*, Vol IX pp 239 41

184 *IA*, Vol X 1881, pp 324 31

185 "Maharaja Devaputra"—Inscriptions of the years 29, 33, 35, 45, vide *EI*, Vol II, p 206 *EI* Vol VIII, pp 181-82,

CAMM, p 62,
JBBRAS, 1902, pp 269-302
"Mahāraja Rajātirāja"—Inscription of the year 40
vide *CAMM*, p 88 f
Mahārāja Rājatirāja Devaputra —Inscription of the year 47,
vide *IA*, Vol XXXIII p 101

186 *IA*, 1913, p 135

187 See p 77

188 See p 139

189 *CII*, Vol II, Pt I, p 163

190 See p 140

191 See p 140

192 *EI*, Vol XXIV, pp 294 97

193 See f n 60 on p 166

194 S K Dikshit—The Problem of the Kusanas and the Origin of the Vikrama Samvat, *ABORI*, Vol XXXVIII, p 101 102

195 *IHQ* 1926 Vol II, p 177

196 *OYCT*, Vol I, p 292

197 *LHT*, p 55

198 The Chinese hostage is credited with the introduction of peaches and pears in India during the reign of Kaniṣka (see p Chapter 8)

199 *IA*, 1929 p 110

200 *NC*, 1893, p 115

201 *NS*, Vol. XLIV 1931-33 p 308

202 *CII*, Vol II, Pt I, pp 165-70

The inscription found by the French Archaeological Mission at Surkh Kotal corroborates the theory formulated in this Thesis that Kaniska II was ruling as a great king in the north-western parts of the empire during this period He is called Maezomo (corresponding to Kaiser) and Badoshao in the inscription which records the repair of his sanctuary and the construction of an aqueduct by his faithful official, Nokonzoko in the year 31 (BSOAS, 1960, pp 47-55) The date falls within the reign of Kaniska II

203 *IAG*, 1955, p 27

204 *IA* Vol XXXIII, p 108

205 *EI* Vol I p 380, No VIII and Plate

206 *CII*, Vol II, Pt I, pp 170 71

207 *EI*, Vol II, p 204

208 *CBM* p 159, No 1, Pl XXIX, 8

209 *CWB*, p 33

2 0 *EI*, Vol X, pp 117-18

211 *LIS*, pp 23-31 ,
NC, 3rd series, Vol XIII, pp 93 ff ,
IA, Vol XII, p 6 ,
CCIM, pp 87 ff ,
JPASB, 1908, pp 81-93

212 *ASIAR*, 1935 36, p 33

213 *Tiravharnasa Kshatrapasa Pushpa[urasa] Vasha* 20 20 20 20 III "—*AO*, Vol XVI, 1938, pp 238,240

214 *Svayamadhigatamahākshatrapanamna*—Junagadh inscription, *LRB*,—p 96

215 Sauvira included the territory along the Indus about Multan , *JRAS*, 1939, p 239

216 *Sarvakshatrāvishkrtavirasabda Jatotsekāvidheyanām Yaudheyanam*—

"Rendered proud, as the Yadheyas were, by having manifested their title of heroes among all Kshatriyas and who cannot be subjugated '——Junagadh inscription, *EI*, Vol VIII, p 44

217 *LRB*, pp 95 96

218 *IA*, Vol XXXIII, p 108, No 23

219 *IA*, Vol XXXIII, pp 106 07

220 *EI* Vol I p 392

221 *IA*, Vol XXXIII, p 107

222 *JPASB*, Vol V, p 276 f , No 8

223 *IA* Vol XXXIII, p 108

224 *HIJ*, p 19 ,
CCIM, p 191

2 ;5 *JRAS* 1900 p 553

226 *HIJ*, pp 21-22

227 *Ibid*, p 28

228. *LRB*, pp 73-75

229 *Ibid*

230 *JNSI* Vol V pp 21-27

231 *WW* p 218

232 *Ibid*

233 Bandhogarh is situated in Rewa district in Madhya Pradesh

234 *NHIP*, Vol VI, p 43

235 Some writers refer to the dates given in the Bandhogarh and Kosam inscriptions to the Gupta era (D R Sahni-EI, Vol XVIII, p 160), or to the Chedi era (Krishna Deva—EI, Vol XXIV, p 256). But they are not justified in their views, as according to those eras, all the above mentioned inscriptions would be assigned to the Gupta period, but the Gupta kings never allowed their feudatories to assume imperial titles or to coin money

236 *CHIS* p 260

237 *EI*, Vol XXIV, p 253

238 *EI*, Vol XXIII, p 245

239 *EI*, Vol XVIII, p. 160

240 *NHIP*, Vol VI, p 43

241 *EI*, Vol XVIII, p 159, No II

242 *JNSI* Vol II, pp 95-108

243 *CCIM*, p 84, No 3, Pl XIII, 8

244 *Ibid*, p 85, No 18, Pl XIII, 9

245 *CBM*, p 159, No 1 Pl XXIX, 8

246 *CBM*, p 159, No 4, Pl XXIX, 9

247 *CBM* p 159, Pl XXIX, 10

248 *CBM*, p 160, No 11 (Gold)

In a copper imitation of the coin, the monogram to r is

, *CBM*, p 161, No 25

249 *HIIA*, p 238

250 *JNSI*, Vol XIII, Pt II, pp 126-27, Pl VII, 10

251 No 19 (*CBM*, p 160, Pl XXIX, 12) is a barbarous imitation of No 11 (*CBM*, p 160)
CCIM, p 85 No 26

252 *CBM*, p 1n

253 See pp 208 ff

7

ART AND LITERATURE

ART-PATRONAGE OF KUSĀNA KINGS

The Kusāna kings were great patrons of art and architecture. They built cities,[1] temples, Chaityas, stūpas,[2] monasteries[3] and other places of public welfare They employed Indian and foreign artisans to beautify their buildings with paintings sculptures and other works of art Under their kind patronage, two of the most important schools of Indian art—the Gandhara school and the Mathura school—flourished and reached new heights of glory, even though some of the works are not of very high quality

(a) Gandhāra Art

The Gandhara art developed the iconography of the Buddha, the Bodhisattva and the Buddhist legends, and had its origin in the Gandhara region, comprising the Peshawar District and adjoining territories There is a lot of controversy about the origin and development of this school of art Percy Brown has described it as a Graeco-Bactrian or Graeco Buddhist art which displayed a fusion of Greek elements with Buddhist ideals [4] Marshall also stresses the Greek aspects of this art [5] and Coomaraswamy is of the opinion that it was, iconographically in part, plastically almost altogether, a local phase of the Hellenistic art, descended from the art of the Greek period in Afghanistan and the Punjab but applied to themes of Indian origin [6] These views are controverted by Benjamin Rowland and Buchthal Rowland regards it as the easternmost appearance of the art of the Roman empire especially in its late and provincial manifestations [7] Buchthal emphasises the Roman aspect of the Gandhara art by stating that the first Buddha sculpture repeats the type of an early imperial toga statue and that it is perhaps

a conscious imitation of a statue of Augustus himself[8] Smith, however, regards it as an offspring of the Graeco-Roman art[9]

But, if we examine the question dispassionately, we shall have to admit that it was not an offshoot of any of the Greek, Roman or Indian arts, it was, on the other hand, cosmopolitan in character It drew freely from various sources, as it was born in Gandhāra which was a meeting-ground of Indian, Persian, Greek and Roman cultures Indian Buddhism had become the dominant religion in this region under the Kuṣāṇas, the religious fervour of the people found an artistic expression in the form of that art which produced numerous pieces of Buddhist sculpture during this period, they have been found scattered all over Gandhāra[10] at Nagarhāra (Jalalabad), Bamiyan, Begrām, Peshawar, Swat valley, Yusafzai country and Taxila We find many examples of the seated Buddha—a conception which is wholly Indian in character The existing monuments of the former Greek conquerors of Gandhara, the objects of art imported from the western world and the Greek artisans employed by the Kusanas must have contributed the Greek elements in the Gandhara art which are perceptible in the motifs of the Corinthian capital[11] and the pediments The Persian rites are discernible in the cult of fire-worship so often portrayed on the obverse of the Kusana coins[12] The Roman influence made itself felt on account of the extensive trade which India carried on with the Roman empire[13] The Kusana gold currency was itself based on the Roman aureaus,[14] pieces of Campanian glass and other objects of luxury have been found at Taxila, and pieces of Roman metal and stucco sculpture have been discovered at Begrām[15]

Kaniṣka has sometimes been regarded as the founder of the Gandhara school,[16] but Marshall and Foucher think that it had its origin during the Śaka occupation of the Gandhara region in the first century B C[17] It is however, difficult to determine the date of its commencement as thousands of images, which have been found there do not have any date at all, or bear a date of an unspecified era Considerations of style also do not enable us to determine exactly their chronological sequence The old principle that the better the style the earlier the date[18] cannot now be accepted as the Gandhara art was not a fragment of the Hellenistic art Archaeological explorations do not give us much help, the association of the coins of Azes with the Bimrāran reliquary containing the

figure of Buddha does not mean that it can be assigned to the Śaka period But it is certain that the worship of the relics of the Buddha was prevalent in Taxila before the accession of Kaniska,[19] that fragments of Greek sculpture belonging to the Śaka period have been found in that locality,[20] that the evolution of the Buddha image might have taken place during the Śaka-Parthian period and not by any special order of Kaniska at the commencement of his reign

There is also a lot of difference of opinion about the period of the flourescence of Gandhara art Marshall,[21] Coomaraswamy,[22] and Benjamin Rowland [23] think that its flourescence took place during the reign of Kaniska but Vogel considers that the clumsy execution of the Peshawar casket reliquary seems to indicate that the school of Gandhāra art was at that time on its decline [24] There is no doubt that the reliefs on the reliquary are manifestly inferior to the majority of Gandhāra sculpture and that the figure of the Buddha on it is of conventional type, but we should not judge the production of the whole period on the basis of this single piece We have many examples of superb Gandhāra art, the image of the Buddha emaciated by his long fast is a work of great significance and gripping realism and is still preserved in the Lahore Museum [25] Similarly, the Mamane Dheri sculpture of the year 89, depicting the visit of Indra, is a fine piece of workmanship [26]

A nice collection of fragments of Indian ivory toilet boxes has been found in the ruins of a palace of Kaniska and his successors in Begrām in the Gandhāra region [27] Their carvings follow the Mathura school of art—the lotus motifs and the toilet scenes have all their counter-parts in the sculpture at Mathura They portray many scenes of surpassing beauty—a woman wringing her long flowing tresses after her bath while a swan hastens to catch the drops of water falling from her hair, mistaking them for pearls, a lady adjusting her necklace in an artistic manner, and two maidens closely held together under an arched gateway [28] Their exquisite beauty portrayed according to the ancient Indian ideals displaying intimate erotic charm without the least vulgarity and their perfect workmanship have won appreciation of many art critics.

The Gandhāra images are carved out of the familiar grey schist,[29] the use of stucco or lime-plaster was not so common during this period But gradually, it replaced the intractable stone

on account of its plastic adaptability The images were generally not executed in the round, they were left unfinished at the back, because they were meant to be installed in the niches of the Buddhist temples They appear invariably to have been embellished with gold leaf or paint [30]

Kaniska s stūpa at Peshawar was regarded as a wonder of the world, and many foreigners came to visit it In the construction of the Gandhara stupa, the Kusanas followed the following plan, there were a series of drums or a tall drum, raised over[31] square plinth of one or more terraces approached by stairways The top was made up of flat round discs rising one above the other in gradually diminishing sizes, the uppermost one tapering to a point [32]

(b) *Mathura School of Art*

The Mathura school of art under the Kusanas marked a direct development of the old Indian art of Besanagar and Bharhut, but with a new iconography in which the figures of the Buddha the Bodhisattva and the Jain Tirthankaras became the most important elements and in which the sculptures were, to some extent influenced by the contemporary Gandhara school Examples of the Mathura type are found at Mathura, Sarnath Saheth Maheth and Kosam (Kausambī) They have also been found at Begram in Gandhāra region [33]

The Sarnath Museum standing Bodhisattva image dedicated by the friar Bala in the 3rd year of Kaniska is one of the finest of the group It is a colossal image, 10 ft high and 3 feet wide across shoulders It represents Sakyamuni standing erect, with his feet firmly planted, his right arm (now lost) persumably in abhaya-mudra[34] and his left hand resting on his hip holding the upper garment which leaves the right shoulder bare A double flat girdle fastened round the loins keeps in the plain lower garment which reaches beneath the knees The hair is not arranged in wavy locks but is treated in such a way as to present the aspect of a plain close-fitting cap which was meant to render the shaven head of a monk The lower part of the halo remains on the back of the torso Along its borders runs a repeat of semi circles indicating nimbus [35] Its massive proportions resemble those of the old Yaksha figures

Between the feet of the Bodhisattva image, there is a figure in relief of a lion facing and on the side of the left foot a representation

of leaves, birds flowers and fruit The lion seems to indicate his seat (simhasana)[36]

The image is carved in the round and shows traces of original colouring It has a richly carved umbrella which is supported by a shaft[37]

A colossal standing image of Bodhisattva of the same type was found at Saheth Maheth[38]

The Kosam Bodhisattva image[39] also shows the same characteristics—the left hand is resting on the hip holding the upper garment which leaves the right shoulder bare the double girdle is tied round the loins and keeps in the lower garment But between the two legs instead of a lion there are five lotus buds tied together and a full bloomed flower at the top and there is another full bloomed lotus at the side of the left leg of the image

The main features of the Mathura type Bodhisattvas are that

(i) they are generally in the round,
(ii) their heads are shaven and not covered with curls,
(iii) there are no moustaches and no ūrnā,[40]
(iv) the right hand is raised in the abhayamudra and the left rests on the thigh
(v) the breasts are prominent, the shoulders are broad and there is a suggestion of power and enormous energy and
(vi) there are auspicious signs (e g of wheels) shown on the soles of the feet

The images were made of the Sikri red sandstone which frequently shows traces of yellow and white, but these spots were hidden on account of the whole surface being covered with a paint

The Mathura type found its way to other centres of Buddhism They set examples to the craftsmen at Sarnath and Gaya In Sarnath, the Chunar sandstone was employed for making images Examples of the Mathura type have been found as far as Begrām[41]

Pillars pillar bars and cross bars belonging to the Kusana period have been found at Mathura Many of them formed parts of the stupa built by Vāsiska or of the monastery constructed by Huviska[42] On the front side of some of them, the figures of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas are depicted We also find representation of some male figures, a large number of female figures and toilet scenes On the back side lotus medallions and Jātaka panels are portrayed

Most of the female figures are nude or semi nude their postures are frankly sensuous they are represented in tribhanga pose—the body being broken as many as three times on its axis—they stand for Yakshis nymphs and dryads and symbolise the spirit of vegetative fertility Early archaeologists were under the impression that they were dancing girls Grunwedel refused to recognize them as Buddhist on account of their erotic character but the Jataka legends portrayed on the reverse side show that they have some association with the Buddhist philosophy Their appearance in the exterior of the sacred structures looks rather strange and has been interpreted in two ways—that they perhaps represent the transitory life of pleasure outside the peace of the world of the Buddha, or that they signify the desirability of the sexual union with the divine in the form of those dryads which suggest the desirability of sexual union [43] The second explanation is quite far fetched, their real object is to show that the Buddha enjoyed peace and serenity of mind even when surrounded by heavenly pleasures displayed in the form of those models of Indian classical beauty

There are some interesting examples of the toilet scenes of mortal women One of them is wringing water from her long tresses [44]

Statues of two Kusana kings—Kaniska and Vama Takshama (Wema Kadphises)—and of the Śaka Satrap Chashtana have been excavated from Mat,[45] 9 miles from Mathura Kaniska is wearing a stiff full skirted coat over a tunic reaching down to the knees and held round the loins by means of a girdle The folds of the robes are indicated by very shallow lines which remind us of Hellenistic influence The King is wearing heavy boots with straps round the ankles He has a sword with a long hilt and a mace The sheath of the sword is fastened by means of two straps to the upper garment Wema Kadphises is sitting on a throne (simhasana) as indicated by two lions placed on either side The right hand of the king which is raised in front of the breast evidently held a sword of which only portions of the hilt are still traceable The left hand is broken it probably rested on the scabbard laid across the knees The king is dressed in a long sleeved tunic with richly embroidered borders nearly 3" broad which are shown as running down the breast in a double band The right sleeve shows similar ornamentation A lower garment with narrow seam along the throat is also visible The king is wearing boots, and both his feet are on a low stool decorated in front and on both sides with a band of stars

Both these statues are in high relief and not carved in the round They depict the national ceremonial dress of the Kusāna kings and their massive features convey an impression of authority and power

The torso of Chashtana is carved in the round The figure is dressed in a tunic reaching to the knees, carrying a sword fastened by means of a strap and wearing heavy boots

All these statues seem to have been included in the devakula (gallery of portrait statues) the construction of which is recorded in the inscription on the seated image [46]

A large number of dated Jain images belonging to the Kusana period have also been found in Mathura They portray the Tirthankaras, mostly the seated figure of Vardhamana Mahavira [47] There are some four-faced images consisting of four standing naked Jinas [48] Images of the Tirthankaras Rishabha[49] and Sambhavanath,[50] of the Arhat Nandiavarta[51] and of the elephant Nandivisala[52] have also been discovered These Jain images do not differ much from the Buddhist images as regards their artistic motives, their sacred symbols and their ornaments, as the followers of both the religions drew on the national art of India and employed the same artists in Mathura The only remarkable points of difference are that the Jain images are naked, and some of them are four faced [53] The image of Sambhavanath installed in the year 48 shows him seated in dhyanamudra[54] on a throne (simhasana) supported by a couple of lions The space under the throne between the lions is occupied by a bas-relief, showing the tri ratna symbol resting on a small wheel and supporting a large one Two conches are leaning against the smaller wheel, while a small leaf is added to each side of the large wheel [55]

As regards the Hindus, the worship of Śiva was very popular among them His figure appears on many coins of the Kusāna kings,[56] and he is often accompanied by his favourite bull Nandi He is sometimes depicted as three faced [57] He has either two arms or four arms, and is shown in different poses [58] He is nimbate, wears a necklace and Indian waist cloth and holds one or more of the following articles in his hands a trident, a vase, a thunderbolt, a noose, a wreath an elephant-goad, a deer, a spear, a club, and a battle axe [59] Sometimes, he has a tiger's skin on his left arm, and his hair is arranged in spiral form [60] The Hindus also worship-

ped Ardoksho (Parvati) Skandakumara (god of war) Visakha and Mahasena[61] Their figures are found on the coins of the Kusana kings But the stone images of Siva and the other deities mentioned above bearing Kusana dates have not so far been identified It appears that the Hindus were generally not in the habit of mentioning the dates of the installation of their images

But there are some Hindu idols which do bear the Kusana dates the Naga image of the year 40[6] another image of Dadhikarnna (the lord of snakes) on which the date is not clear[63] and the image of the goddess of a village of the year 10[6] There is also one sacrificial post (Yupa) of the year 24[5] The Naga images are depicted in the Mathura style in the form of human beings with massive features but hoods of snakes are attached to their shoulders and rise above their heads[66]

The production of such prolific works of art was made possible on account of the policy of religious toleration followed by the Kusana kings the peaceful conditions prevailing in their empire the rise of Mahayana school of philosophy and the active patronage extended by them to Indian and foreign craftsmen The r specimens[67] have still survived and are found in many Indian and Pak stan museums But the Kaniska s stupa at Peshawar which was a magnificent monument and which was regarded as a wonder of the world for many centuries has completely vanished Its memory still lingers in the accounts left by many Chinese pilgr ms[68]

LITERATURE

(a) *Asvaghosa*

Kaniska was a great patron of learning According to the Fou fa tsang in iuen tchoen he got the learned scholar Asvaghosa from the king of Pataliputra as a part of war indemn ty.[69] Asvaghosa expounded the Buddhist law to him[70] and was treated as one of his three intimate friends[71]

Asvaghosa was not the same person as Matrcheta with whom he has sometimes been confused Only one Chinese wr ter I tsing mentions Matrcheta but he also mentions Asvaghosa without identifying them[7] Matrcheta wrote the Maharajakanikalekha (Epistle to king Kanika)[73] but according to the internal evidence furnished by verse 49[74] of the Epistle Kanika was quite different from Kaniska Taranath states that Matrcheta lived during the

period of Bindusāra and that he converted Kaniska by sending an epistle to him [75] But Asvaghosa lived during the period of Kaniska, and the Chinese translations of the contemporary or ancient Sanskrit works are quite explicit in stating that Asvaghosa personally converted Kaniska by expounding the Buddhist religion to him [76] Asvaghosa cannot therefore be identified with Matrcheta

The scholar Asvaghosa should also be distinguished from king Asvaghosa whose name appears in the Sarnath Pillar inscription of the year 40 [77] It is true that worldly titles were sometimes applied to eccelesiastical heads but there was no custom to date the inscriptions after the pontifical reign of the head of the church in India

According to the Chinese tradition, he was born a Brahman and was converted to Buddhism by Fu na she (Punyayasa) [78] Some writers, however attribute his conversion to Pārsva who defeated him in a controversy held in Shika [79] Asvaghosa showed a deep knowledge of Brahmanical learning, and made his name famous as an orator He was the noble son of Suvarnaksi of Saketa (Ayodhya) [80] He became a great Buddhist teacher, and he comes next to Punyayasa in the patriarchal system of the Buddhists [81]

He was a great poet and a great dramatist He was the author of Buddhacharita, Saundrananda and Sariputra prakarana The Buddhacharita deals with the life of the Buddha in a simple style, Asvaghosa is very moderate in the use of the Alamkāras or embellishments, and shows great restraint in the presentation of miracles in the Buddha legends He displays his art in the choice of incident and arrangement to produce the maximum effect He describes love scenes with a wealth of intimate details [82] He is a master of simple pathos, and draws a vivid picture of the sufferings caused by old age, disease and death [83] He gives an animated description of the battle of the Buddha with Mara and his hosts [84] He uses standard Sanskrit, even though it does not always comply strictly with the rules of Panini [85]

The Saundrānanda describes the conversion of king Nanda, Buddha's half brother, by the Buddha himself in the true Kavya style It depicts the struggle in Nanda's mind between his love for his wife and worldly pleasures and his respect for the great Saviour. Much space is devoted to the preaching of the Buddhist doctrines

The Sariputra prakarana deals with the conversion of Sariputra and Maudgalyayana by the Buddha and involves philosophic discussion Fragments of the play have been discovered at Turfan and the name of Asvaghosa is mentioned in the colophon of the last Act It is a drama in nine Acts and follows mainly the rules laid down in the Natyasastra for the composition of the prakarana It s the oldest extant Sanskrit drama

Fragments of the other two dramas which have been discovered at Turfan are also attributed to Asvaghosa and they are contained in the same manuscript as the Sariputra prakarana and their style resembles that of his other works One of them is an allegory introducing characters such as Kirti (fame) and Buddhi (intellect), a young voluptuary and his mistress Magadhavati apparently a courtesan converted to Buddhism in which Vidusaka provides a lot of entertainment with his gluttonous nature [86]

The glorification of the Buddha was the chief characteristic of Asvaghosa s epics and dramas—it was a step towards Mahayanism

There are some works about the authorship of which there has been a lot of controversy The Chinese sources regard Asvaghosa as the author of the Sutralamkara[87]—a collection of tales in Sanskrit written in prose and verse of the classical type inculcating the Buddhist faith in the saving power of the worship of the Buddha But its real author was Kumaralata as stated in its Sanskrit text ' Kalpanamand tika fragments of which were discovered in Turfan [88] In two stories (Nos 14 and 31), Kaniska appears as a king of a past age the work was evidently written after his death and Kumaralata was probably a junior contemporary of Asvaghosa

Asvaghosa has also been credited with the authorship of Mahayana Sraddhotpada Sastra (Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana) The work is wholly lost in Sanskrit, but is preserved in Chinese The Bhuta Tathata concept embodied in it seems to be later to Nagarjuna The work was probably written by another Asvaghosa at a later period [89]

The Vajrasuchi has sometimes been wrongly ascribed to Asvaghosa It was written by Dharmakirti as mentioned in the Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka [90]

He shows great metrical skill in his song Gandistotra Gatha, a small poem of twenty nine stanzas He tries to display the power

of music by describing in words the religious message carried to the hearts of men by the sounds produced by beating a long strip of wood with a short wooden club[91] There is no reason to question its authorship it is a "beautiful poem worthy of Asvaghosa in form and contents"[9] The Śri Dharma-Pitaka Sampradava nidana-sutra also relates a story which shows that he was a great musician According to it, he caused, by his music and teaching 500 king s sons in Hoa Chen (Pataliputra) to give up the world , and the king in fear that the kingdom would become empty ordered the music to be stopped[93]

Asvaghosa was realy a great poet, a great dramatist a great musician, a great teacher and a great philosopher who served Kaniska as his spiritual adviser

(b) Charaka

Charaka (Che lo kia) a famous physician was also[94] one of the three intimate friends and counsellors of Kaniska

Many stories are related about Charaka[95] but he is not mentioned as the author of Charaka-Samhita in any one of them There is however, some evidence that this work was written at an earlier period as Pātañjali whose date is now generally accepted as 150 140 B C[96] in round numbers is credited with its redaction[97] It is quite obvious that Charaka, the author of Charaka Samhitā could not be the counsellor of Kaniska, who lived in the first century A D

Nagārjuna the famous Buddhist philosopher has also been wrongly regarded as a contemporary of Kaniska According to Kalhana, Nagarjuna lived at the same time as the three kings "Huska Juska and Kaniska" one hundred and fifty years after the nirvana of the Buddha[98] Tibetan sources also place him at a date identical with that traditionally assigned by them to Kaniska[99] But the Chinese sources which relate many stories about Asvaghosa do not make any mention of Nāgarjuna in connection with the reign of Kaniska they mention Satavāhana as the king to whom Nāgarjuna wrote the famous letter "Suhrllekha"[100] ("Letter to a Friend") A legend related by Bana also describes Satavahana as the friend of Nagārjuna[101] Nagarjuna had, therefore, nothing to do with the Kusana kings Asvaghosa was, thus, the only famous man of letters who lived at the Kusana court

FOOT-NOTES

1 See pp 110 140, 141
2 See pp
3 See pp 100, 140, 141
4 *IABH* p 38
5 *GT* pp 30 32
6 *HIIA* p 32
7 *AAIBHJ* p 72
8 *JRAS*, 1946 p 121
9 *EHI*, p 241
10 *HIIA*, pp 53 55
11 *GT*, p 38
12 See pp 84, 162
13 See Chap 9
14 See p 73

Leaving aside the double staters issued by Wema Kadphises, the weight of the heaviest gold coins issued by him and his successors was about the same as that of the Roman aurei (124 gr) first minted in great quantities under Augustus (B C 27—A D 14)

15 *AAIBHJ*, pp 72-73
16 *Ibid*, p 72
17 *JRAS* 1947, p 12, *AGG*, Vol II, p 496
18 *GT*, p 31
19 The Taxila Silver Scroll inscription of the year 136, vide *EI*, Vol XIV, pp 285-95 (See Appendix IA)
20 *GT*, pp 79 81, *JRAS*, 1947 p 13
21 *JRAS*, 1946 p 119
22 *HIIA*, p 52
23 *AAIBHJ*, p 71
24 *BAV*, p 26

25. See photograph
26. *EI*, Vol XXII, pp 14-15,
 CII Vol II, Pt I, pp 171 72 No LXXXVIII Pl XXXIV
27. *AAIBHJ*, p 91
 See photograph,
 BG, p 180
 See also Appendix II
28. *YB*, p 292
29. *MASI*, No 7, p 13
30. *GT*, p 31
31. For a detailed description of the stupa see pp 97 ff
32. *MASI*, No 7, p 5,
 IABH, p 40
33. See p 177 and Appendix II
34. Posture of blessing
35. *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp 177-79
36. *Ibid*
37. *Ibid*
38. *EI*, Vol VIII, pp 180 81
39. *EI*, Vol XXIV, pp 210-12
40. Mark between the brows
41. See p 177 and Appendix II
42. *IA*, Vol XXXIII, p 101, No 11,
 ASIR, Vol III, 1871 72, p 34, No 14
43. *AAIBHJ*, p 89
44. *HIIA*, p 65
45. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, pp 120 25
 JUPHS, Vol XXIII, 1950, pp 72-79
46. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, pp 120-25
 A gallery of sculptural portraits of representatives of the royal family of the first Kusana principality has been found in the ruins of a palace in Khalchayan in the valley of Surhan Darya (U S S R) The sculpture is extremely realistic and inspired,

and features a whole gallery of personalities with their own characters and feelings
Tribune dated 18 8 68
G A Pugachenkova, KSIU, pp 177-78

47 Inscriptions of the year 22 (*EI*, Vol I, p 391), of the year 29 (*EI*, Vol I, p 385), of the year 35 (*EI*, Vol I, pp 385-86), of the year 93 (*EI*, Vol. II, p 205)

48 Inscriptions of the year 15 (*EI*, Vol I, p 382), of the year 19 (*EI*, Vol I, p 383), of the year 32 (*EI*, Vol II, p 203)

49 *IA*, Vol XXXIII, p 105

50 *EI*, Vol X, p 112

51 *EI*, Vol. II, p 204

52 *ASIR*, Vol III, p 32, No 9

53 See Appendix I, Pt B, S Nos 16 46 and 54
These images of quadruple standing naked Jinas were found in Mathura

54 Posture for meditation

55 *EI*, Vol X, p 112

56 See pp 46 ff ,86, 150, 152 53, 162-63

57 *CBM*, p 147, Pl XXVIII, 15

58 See pp 46 ff , 86, 150, 52-53, 162 63

59 *Ibid*

60 *CCIM*, p 68

61 See pp 148 49

62 *CAMM*, p 88f, No C 13

63 *EI Vol I, p 390*

64 *EI*, Vol IX, pp 239 41

65 *JRAS* 1910, pp 1311-15.

66 *CAMM*, p 88f, No C 13 ,
ASIR, Vol X, pp 41 ff

67 Many of them were damaged by the ravages of time and the iconoclastic zeal of some people

68 See pp. 90 ff

69 *IA*, 1903 p 387
See p 77
70 *FFT* vide *IA*, 1903, p 388
See p 95
71 *SRPS* vide *IA* 1903, p 387
See p 108
72 *IA* Vol XXXII p 345
73 This fact is mentioned in the Tibetan translation of the epistle vide Tanjur Mdo XXXIII, foll 78 82
IA Vol XXXII, pp 346 60
74 According to this verse, Kanika was a descendant of the Solar dynasty—a designation never applied to the Kusana king
75 *TN*, Chap XII, p 92
76 See p 95
77 *rpangeyhe rajne Asvaghosasya chatarise samdchhare hemata pakhe prathame di ase dasame* (In the fortunate reign of king Asvaghosa, in the fortieth year, in the first fortnight of winter, on the tenth day)—
EI Vol, VIII, p 171-72
78 *OYCT*, Vol II pp 103 104
79 *OYCT*, Vol II, p 104
Shika was situated in Magadha
80 *SN*, Canto XVIII, 64 p 117
Some interesting legends are current about the origin of his name. According to some of them he was called Aśvaghosa (lit horse voice), because horses began to neigh at his birth According to others, horses began to neigh with delight or forgot to feed when they listened to his sermons or they were kept spell bound by his lute (*OYCT*, Vol, II, p 104) These stories seem to be based on the fact that he was a great preacher and a great musician
81. *OYCT*, Vol II, p 104
82 *BC*, Cantos IV, 24-53, V, 48 62

83 *BC* Cantos III and IV

84 *BC* Canto XIII

85 *HSLW*, Vol II, p 260

86 *HCIP* Vol II p 259

87 Kumārajīva translated it into Chinese,
Ta tchoang in king lun, Nanjio, 1182,
vide *IA*, 1903, p 382

88 Colophons of the Turfan Fragments, *HSLW*, p 624

89 Kimura-Hinayana and Mahayana pp 41, 84,
CPB, p 79
HSLW, p 361

90 Bunyiu Nanjio, Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist *Tripitaka* No 1303, *HSLW* Vol II p 266

91 *HSLK*, p 56

92 *HSLW*, p 266.

93 *SDPKS* Chap 5, *IA*, 1903, p 387.

94 *TPTK*, vide *IA*, 1903, p 387

Before his appointment as a court physician, he had already become very famous, Kaniska had often heard of him, and wanted to see him (TFT IA, 1903, p 388) It so happened that he came of his accord to the palace. The king promised to follow any advice that he might give He became one of his most intimate friends A strange story is told about his resignation in the Fou fa tsang-in iuen-tchoen, according to which the king's favourite wife had once a difficult confinement and Tche-le (Charaka) delivered her of a dead male child He advised the king not to touch that wife in future *This advice was not followed, and another child was delivered* with the same pains as before Tche le, therefore, quitted the court and left the world (*IA*, 1903, p 388) There can be no doubt that the famous physician might have taken the disregard of his advice as an insult, and might have left the court, but it seems incredible that he also left the world, unless he took the disgrace so seriously to heart

95 According to one of the stories, he had already become famous before his appointment as a court physician

96 *IA*, Vol I, pp 299 302, Vol XV, pp 80 84 Vol XVI, pp 156, 172

97 '*Ragādivasādipi nanyathāvādi yah sa iti Charake Patañjalih* — *Laghumañjusa of Nāgesa Bhatta, Vide SIH*, p 7
"*Patañjala-Mahabhasya Charaka prati Sanskritaih Manovāk kayadosanam hattreraht pataye namah*"—*Salutation in the Āyurvedarthadipikā—Chakrapanidatta and Bhoja vide SIH*, *p* 7

98 *RT*, Vol I 172-73, p 31

99 *TN*, p 301

100 *OYCT* Vol II, pp 200f, 206
LHT, p 135

101 *FC* p 252

8

CULTURAL CONTACTS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

INDIAN BUDDHIST MISSIONS TO CENTRAL ASIA

The establishment of a unified power from Bactria to Pataliputra under the Early Kusanas the extension of their influence in Turkestan (Sinkiang) in the 2nd century A D and the patronage of Buddhism by Kaniska helped in the spread of Buddhism and of Indian culture in Central Asia Buddhist scholars fired with a missionary zeal, turned their settlements into centres of learning The Gandhara school of art gave a concrete expression to their religious fervour and won many adherents to the new faith

The ancient trade routes between India and China served also as pilgrim routes, and hospitable monasteries to welcome the guests were established on them Indian missionaries and colonists from Kashmir and North-West India went to settle there The most famous colonies, some of them now forgotten, existed on or near the States of Shule or Shu-fu,[1] Bharuka,[2] Kiu-tse,[3] Ming Oi,[4] Yen-ki or Agni,[5] Kao chang,[6] Sokhui or Soche,[7] Ho-tien,[8] Niya, Daudan Uilik Endere, Loulan, Rawak, Miron and Tun-huang[9] Tun-huang was the biggest Buddhist establishment in the middle of the second century A D in that region Many ruins of monasteries, images and stupas belonging to the Kuṣana period have been discovered at these places Sculptured bas-reliefs dating from the first two centuries A D have been excavated at Rawak to the north-east of Khotan[10] Fragments of many Sanskrit texts now lost in India have also been recovered from some of these Buddhist centres The concluding chapter of Asvaghosa's drama (Śāriputra-prakarana) and two other dramas attributed to him have been found in Turfan. The text 'D' (Daśasāhasrika) of Prajñapāramita (a Buddhist religious treatise) which was translated by Ci-leu cia chān in 179

A D was discovered at Khadalik [11] The Text 'A ?' (Astasāhasrikā) which was found there seems to be older than the Text 'D Brahmi fragments belonging to the second century A D have been recovered from Ming Oi The Kharosthi documents which come from Niya contain quotations from Buddhist Sanskrit works such as Udanavarga and the Pratimoksasutra [13] Buddhist monks of Eastern Turkestan took up the study of Sanskrit during the rule of the Kusanas while Prakrit was used there for administrative purposes [14]

It was during this period that Buddhism first took its strong roots in China The Compendium of Wei in an extract preserved for us by San kuo tchi mentions the fact that in 2 B C a Chinese official learnt to know Buddhist sutras by oral transmission through the agency of an ambassador of the king of the Yue chi [15] According to the Buddhist texts written between the 2nd and 6th century A D the Chinese Emperor Ming ti (A D 58 75) of the Han Dynasty was interested in Buddhism and sent to India an embassy of eighteen persons to study its doctrines in 62 A D They returned with Buddhist holy books and two monks Kasyapa Matanga and Dharmaratna [16] The former was in Gandhara a Kusana territory when he was invited to China The monks faced all the difficulties of the journey over steep hills and across the desert of Gobi Kasyapa learnt Chinese and translated a Buddhist sutra and five other Sanskrit works into that language [17] Buddhism soon appealed to the Chinese and some Chinese learned people such as Mou tseu (170 225 A D) considered its doctrines to be superior to the teachings of Confucius and Lao tseu [18]

CHINESE HOSTAGE WELCOMED AT KANISKA S COURT

A Chinese hostage was welcomed at the court of Kaniska He is credited with the introduction of peaches and pears in India [19] He belonged to one of the outlying vassal States of China According to Hieun Tsang these fruit were called Chinani and China rajaputra [20]

INFLUENCE OF GREEK AND IRANIAN CULTURES

The Kuṣanas had come from Bactria where they were influenced by Greek and Iranian cultures as regards their language, religion and dress They borrowed many words such as ' Yavuga ' from Iran, they used Greek script on their coins[21], they introduced new modes of dress in India[22] and they worshipped many Greek and Iranian deities such as Helios and Arooaspo [23]

The Kuṣana empire had considerable commercial intercourse with foreign countries[24], and Indian merchants could be seen among the cosmopolitan crowds even in the bazars of Alexandria [25] But they were too much concerned with their business activities and cultural matters did not possess any great attraction for them The Greeks who settled in Central Asia and India however exercised a great influence on the civilization of India they helped in the evolution of the Gandhara art which reached new heights of glory during the Kuṣāna period [26]

ROMAN INFLUENCE AND EMBASSIES TO ROME

The Kusanas maintained friendly relations with the Roman empire, with which they enjoyed a favourable balance of trade [27] The Roman aureus and denarius were current throughout Western India and were copied by the Kuṣana kings [28] They sent an embassy to the Roman emperor, Trajan (98 117 A D) it was present with him at the great shows which he offered to the Roman people (107 A D) Dion Cassius gives the following account about it —

'And to Trajan after he had arrived in Rome there came a great many embassies from barbarian courts, and especially from the Indians and he offered shows in which wild beasts without number were slaughtered, because Trajan made the deputies who came from the kings sit in the seats of the senators when reviewing the show [29]

The names of the Kuṣana kings have, however, been wrongly associated with the despatch of many other embassies to the Roman kings For example, Rawlinson[30] and many other historians are mistaken in claiming that the Indian embassy to Augustus about which numerous references have been made by Greek writers was sent by the Kusana king Kujula Kadphises Strabo gives an account of that embassy which he got from Nikolaos Damaskenos the author of the Universal History who was much esteemed by the Emperor Augustus [31] Strabo calls the Indian ruler Poros, and states that he was the sovereign of 600 kings Florus[32], Suetonius[33] and Dion Cassius[34] also confirm and amplify the account given by Strabo Dion Cassius gives the date of the arrival of the embassy as 21 B C, and Florus mentions the fact that it had taken four years for the journey to be completed The Indian king must have, therefore, sent the embassy in 25 B C Rawlinson thinks that the Indian king must have been Kujula Kadphises as he ruled over vast territories [35] But we

learn from Chinese sources that Kujula Kadphises did not establish a vast empire at such an early date [36] Moreover, Bargosa (Barygaza) from which Zarmanochegas,[37] a famous member of the embassy, came was not included in his empire, and it is unreasonable to suppose that he invited a foreigner to be included in the embassy The embassy to Trajan was, therefore, the only Kuṣana diplomatic mission about which we have some definite knowledge

FOOT NOTES

1 Kashgar in Sinkiang (China) See Map VI
In 1968, an international conference on the Kusāna period was held in Dushanbe (U S S R) Many aspects of the cultural interchange between the peoples of India and Central Asia were brought to light (Gafurov—*Essays of a Soviet Orientalist*, 1969 p 28)
2 Aksu, a site near Uch Turfan, in Sinkiang
3 Kucha in Sinkiang
4 A site west of Kucha
5 Agnidesa or Karashahr in Sinkiang
6 Turfan
7 Yarkand
8 Khotan
9 *IAC* pp 12-16 (See Map VI)
10 *RSCE*, pp 85-87
11 *MASI*, No 69, pp 1-11
Khadalik is situated in Sinkiang (China)
12 *MASI*, No 69, p 11
13 *KI* Nos 204, 510, 511, 514, 523
14 Buddhist monasteries served as centres of learning in Eastern Turkestan where theology, medicine, grammar, music and astronomy were taught Astronomical knowledge was derived from Indian, Babylonian and Hellenistic sources and local traditions The Soghdians and the Khorezmians had developed their own calendar systems, and the Koi Krylgan Kala relic seems to have served the purpose of astronomical observations in Khorezm. (M Asimov—Science in Central Asia and the Methods of Studying , *KSIU*, p 22)
15 See p 34

16 Maspero, *BEFEO*, Tome X, 1910, pp 95ff, vide *IHQ*, 1929, p 71

17 *AIF*, p 602

18 *YB* p 67

19 The king was not Kaniska I but Kaniska II, see pp 157-59.

20 *OI CT*, VOl I, pp 292-93

21 See pp 31 ff, 46 ff, 85 7, 143ff 162 ff

22 See Chapter 10

23 See p 84 85

24 See Chap 9

25 See p 201

26 See Chapter 7

27 See pp 198ff

28 See p 200

29 *AICL*, p 213 ITAT, p 125

30 *IBIIVW*, pp 107 08

31 This writer says that at Antioch by Daphne (a celebrated grove and sanctuary) he met with the Indian ambassadors who had been sent to Augustus Caesar It appeared from the letter that their number had been more than merely the three he reports that he saw The rest had died chiefly in consequence of the length of the journey The letter was written in Greek on parc hment and imported that Poros was the writer, that though he was the sovereign of 600 kings, he nevertheless set a high value to being Caesar's friend and was willing to grant him a passage wherever he wished through his dominions and to assist him in any good enterprise Such, he says, were the contents of the letter Eight naked servants presented the gifts that were brought They had girdles encircling their waists and were fragrant with ointments The gifts consisted of a Hermes born wanting arms from the shoulders whom I have myself seen large snakes and a serpent ten cubits long, and a river tortoise three cubits long and a partridge larger than a vulture They were accompanied, it is said by the man who burned himself at Athens . He therefore with a smile leapt upon the pyre naked and anointed, and wearing a girdle round his loins On his tomb was this inscription, "Zarmanochegas, an Indian from Bargosa, having immortalised himself according to the custom of his country lies here ' —

Strabo, Geography, Book XV, Chapter I, 73, vide *AICL*, pp 77 78 *ITAT* pp 65 66

32 A D 110
Hist Rom, IV, 12, vide AICL, p 78 f n

33 A D 120
AICL, p, 78 f n

34 *A D* 194
Hist Rom, IX, 58 vide *AICL*, pp 79 f n 212 13, *ITAT* pp 68 69

35 *IBIWH*, pp 107 08

36 See p 24

37 *A somewhat incorrect transliteration of* Sramanachārya

9

TRADE AND COMMERCE

NATURE OF TRADE

India carried on a flourishing trade with foreign countries, especially with the Roman empire, in the Ist and 2nd centuries A D, and the Kusāna empire had a great share in it The principal articles of commerce were precious stones, cotton and silk cloth, timber, aromatics, herbs, cereals, sugar and spices among the exports, and gold, silver, copper, tin, glass and wine among the imports [1] The balance of trade was in India's favour, and led to the import of gold on a large scale and to an extensive issue of gold coinage by Wema Kadphises[2] and his successors—Kaniska,[3] Huviska[4] and Vasudeva [5]

FAVOURABLE FACTORS

The trade was facilitated by the Kusana conquests which opened up the overland route of commerce between India and the Roman empire Trade in Central Asia had previously been mainly incidental and subject to attacks of many savage tribes The Parthians had done what they could to control and organize it by levying tribute on the Roman merchants and by establishing trading stations,[6] but they had not been able to control it eastward The existence of a unified power in Bactria, the Kabul Valley, the Punjab, the Yamuna Valley and the Upper Ganga Valley[7] under the Kusanas made it possible for a regular trade to be carried on between the Euphrates and the Ganga The peace treaty which was signed in 63 A D between Rome and Parthia which were frequently engaged in warfare was not broken for half a century [8] and proved very beneficial for this purpose The discovery of the existence of the monsoon (Etesian) winds blowing regularly across the Indian

Ocean by Hippalus in 47 A D ,[9] about which the people had previously only a very vague idea, and the Kusana control over the port of Barygaza (Broach)[10] on the west coast and over Barbaricum[11] gave an impetus to the trade

TRADE WITH ROME

In those times, the fashionable world of Rome demanded on an unprecedented scale oriental luxuries of every kind—jewels, fine muslins, silk, spices and aromatics An example of this extravagance was seen at the funeral of Poppoea, the wife of Nero, in 66 A D when more aromatics were consumed on her pyre than Arabia produced in a year [12] The extravagant import of luxuries from the East without adequate production of commodities to offer in exchange was the main cause of the depreciation and degradation of the Roman currency, leading finally to its total repudiation Under Augustus (27 B C —14 A D) the ratio of gold to silver in the Roman coinage was about 1 to 9 3, the aureus being worth 25 silver denarii During the reign of Nero (54 A D.—68 A D) which was marked by every form of wastefulness and extravagance, the silver denarius fell from 1—84 to 1—96 pound of silver, an alloy of 20% copper being added to it Under Trajan (A D 98-117), the alloy reached 30% and finally under Elgabalus (A D 218-22), the denarius had become totally copper and was repudiated [13] Even the golden aureus was tampered with , it was exported in large quantities to become the basis of exchange to India

The export of gold caused great alarm in Rome In 22 A D , this was made the subject of a letter from the Emperor Tiberius to the Roman Senate, "If a reform is in truth intended , where must it begin ? And how am I to restore the simplicity of ancient *times ? How shall we reform the taste for dress ? How are we to* deal with the peculiar articles of feminine vanity, and in particular with that rage for jewels and precious trinkets, which drain the empire of its wealth, and send, in exchange for baubles, the money of the Commonwealth to foreign nations and even to the enemies of Rome "[14]

The drain of specie from Rome to the East was bitterly condemned by Pliny ' The subject' , he says, "is one well worthy of our notice seeing that in no year does India drain us of less than 550,000,000 sesterces ($22 million),[15] giving back her own ware which are sold among us at fully hundred times their first cost "[16] This

figure is no doubt, greatly exaggerated, as in another place, he estimates a little over $ 4 000,000 (one hundred million sesterces) as the balance of specie required for the entire trade with India, Arabia and China At the very lowest computation, India, the Seres and the Arabian peninsula drain from our empire yearly one hundred million sesterces, so dearly do we pay for our luxury and our women "[17] This sum represents about £ 833 000[18] of which nearly half went to India Gibbon valued the amout of India's share at £400 000 [19] As regards the nature of profits, the estimate given in the Heou Han Chou, based on the report of the ambassador Kang Ying (A D 97) seems to be more sober, "They (the Romans) traffic by sea with An hsi (Parthia) and Tien chu (India) the profit of which trade is ten fold They are honest in transactions "[20]

The import of specie into India continued when the author of the *Periplus* visited India some time between A D 78 80 as he notes that both gold and silver denarii"[21] were exchanged at Barygaza (Broach) for native money At the same time he adds, the old drachmas bearing the Greek inscriptions of Apollodotos " and Menander"[23] were still current in Barygaza "[24] There can be little doubt that a large portion of the Roman gold denarii imported at Barygaza were carried to North India when they were recoined as dinaras by the Kusana kings That the Roman gold did find its way to the north is quite certain as many specimens have been excavated from the stupas in the Kabul valley and the Punjab "[25] the Kusanas adopted the Roman weight standard (Aureus=124 grains or 8 035 grams), and the average weight of the Kuṣana gold coins is 122 5(grains "[26] Oldenberg also observes in this connection 'For the second Kadphises we have to take into account the approximation of his gold coinage to that of the Roman aurei first minted in any considerable numbers under Augustus "[27] The Kuṣanas struck little silver, and the fact is explained by the statement in the Periplus that silver coins of Apollodotos and Menander were current in his time [8] Along with them, the tetradrachmas of [9] Euthydemus[30] and Eucratides[31] must have been in common circulation as well as the numerous hemidrachmas of Greek princes—Menander Apollodotos, Antimachus II[32] and Hermaeus[33], and a great mass of native punch marked silver coins [34]

NATIONALITY OF TRADERS

Commercial intercourse between Rome and India was largely

in the hands of the merchants of Alexandria[35] and Palmyra[36] but Indian merchants could also be seen in Alexandria. Dion Chrysostom who lived in the reign of Trajan mentions Indians to be among the cosmopolitan crowds to be found in the bazars of Alexandria. 'For I see not only Greeks, Italians etc. in the midst of you (Alexandrians) but also Baktrians and Skythians and Persians and some of the Indians who view the spectacles with you and are with you on all occasions.'[37]

LAND ROUTES

According to Strabo merchandise was conveyed from Leuke Kome[38] on the east side of the Red Sea to Petra[39] thence to Rhinocolura [40] (El Arish) and thence to other nations. But the greater part was brought down from Arabia and India to Myos Hormos[41] it was then conveyed on camels to Coptus of the Thebais[42] situated on a canal of the Nile and thence to Alexandria[43]. Strabo found one hundred and twenty ships sailing from Myos Hormos to India[44].

Ctesiphon[45] on the Tigris served as a great centre of trade between India and the Roman Empire which stretched to the Euphrates. From here one route led to Ecbatana[46] and Hecatompylos[47] in the east and others to Antioch[48], Palmyra[49], Damascus[50], Gaza[51], Tyre[52], Sidon[53] and Petra[54].

The most important land route from Antioch to Alexandropolis[55] the metropolis of Arachosia is described by Isidore of Charax[56] who wrote in the first century B.C. He mentions the important supply stations maintained by the Parthian government for the convenience of merchants. The route beginning at Antioch crossed the Euphrates at Zeugma[57] and went to Seleucia[58] on the Tigris. The distance From Zeugma to Seleucia was 171 schoeni or 555¾ miles [59]. From there the route went to Ecbatana the metropolis of Media which had a treasury and a temple. The route then passed through Rhaga[60] the Caspian Gates[61], Phra[62] and Alexandropolis.

The route is also described by Ptolemy [63]. According to him, after crossing the Euphrates at Hierapolis [64] it went to Ecbatana and the Caspian Gates and through Parthia to Hekatompylos from there it went to the capital city of Hyrkania[65], Antiokheia Margiana[66] and through Areia[67] to Baktra [68]. From there it proceeded to the Stone Tower which was a great centre for trade with China.

The Stone Tower has been identified with Tashkent[69] by some geographers, because it has precisely the same meaning in

the language of the Turkomans [70] while Rawlinson thinks that Tashkurghan 'has better claims to represent the site, as it was an ancient city with its walls built of unusually large blocks of stone which made it famous as Tashkurghan or the stone fort [7] But the identification of the site with Tashkent is justified, because, according to Ptolemy, on leaving Baktra the traveller directed his course for a long time towards the north, this can be true only in the case of Tashkent and not Tashkurghan The latitude given for Stone Tower also confirms this view-point From the Stone Tower, the route led to Kasia [73] From Kashgar, two routes went to China, one along the southern fringes of the Tarim Basin, and the other along the north [74] On the southern route, Yarkand (Soche) Khotan (Ho tien), Niya and a number of other colonies such as Endere, Donglik[75] and Tun hwang[76] were situated, while the northern route passed through Uch Turfan, Kucha, Karashahr (Yen ki) and Turfan [7] They were important trading centres and later on became great religious centres, as is testified by the discovery of the remains of the buildings of the Kusana period at these places [78] The caravans travelling to the Far East could find good halting places there, as they had fertile oases The two routes met at Ansi and took the merchants to Yu men[79] and Sera Metropolis[80] (most probably Sian[81]) According to Ptolemy, the journey from the Stone Tower to Sera Metropolis took seven months along the northern route [8]

Baktra was a great commercial entrepot of East Asia From Baktra one route led to the north to Marakanda (Samarkand[83]) and Tashkent (the Stone Tower[84]) and China, another to East India, passing through Ortospana(Kabul), Purushapura, Taxila Modoura (Mathura) and Palimbothra (Pātaliputra[85]) and still another to Sind, passing through Kandahar, Rhambacia[86] and Barbarricum[87] (Barbaricon) at the mouth of the Indus From Mathura, one route branched southwards to Ozene (Ujjain) and the important port of Barygaza (Broach[88])

HARDSHIPS ON THE LAND ROUTES

The land route through Central Asia was very difficult, it passed through the country in which oases of the most productive soil alternated with sandy deserts Roads were sometimes obliterated by sand and the travellers found it safe to travel by night, guided by stars Curtius[89] whose account is corroborated by later writers such as Ammianus Marcellinus describes the country as follows

"The nature of the Baktrian territory is varied and presents striking contrasts [90] In one place it is well-wooded, and bears vines which yield grapes of great size and sweetness The soil is rich and well-watered—and where such a genial soil is found corn is grown, while lands with an inferior soil are used for the pasturage to cattle To this fertile tract succeeds another much more extensive which is nothing but a wild waste of sand parched with drought alike without inhabitants and without herbage The winds, moreover, which blow hither from the Pontic Sea, sweep before them the sand that covers the plain, and this, when it gathers into heaps, looks when seen from a distance like a collection of great hills, whereby all traces of the road that formerly existed are completely obliterated Those, therefore, who cross these plains, watch the stars by night as sailors do at sea, and direct their course by their guidance In fact, they almost see better under the shadow of night than in the glare of sun-shine They are consequently, unable to find their way in the day-time, since there is no track visible which they can follow for the brightness of the luminaries above is shrouded in darkness Should now the wind which rises from the sea overtake them the sands with which it is laden would completely overwhelm them Nevertheless in all the more favoured localities, the number of men and of horses that are there generated is exceedingly great"

According to Ptolemy, the progress of travellers was also frequently checked on the route from the Stone Tower to China by violent storms [91]

In addition to obstacles and calamities caused by nature, the traders had to face dangers from uncertain political conditions Parthia was often at war with Rome, and in India, in the last quarter of the first century A D when the *Periplus* was written Sind was torn by strife among Parthian princes [92] and consequently the route to Barbaricon became less important, as is indicated by the text of the *Periplus*, which states that there were far more of the products carried by the overland route to Barygaza than of those coming to Barbaricon at the mouth of the Indus [93]

TRADE BY SEA

Trade was carried on by sea with Arabia ports on the Persian Gulf and the Roman empire An idea of the immense trade which was carried on in this way can be had from the fact that when

Strabo visited the port of Myos Hormos he found that one hundred and twenty merchant men sailed to India [94] He does not mention in what space of time they sailed but probably he means that so many sailed in a single season Trajan also saw ships spreading their sails for India from the mouth of the Euphrates [95]

According to the *Periplus*, coming down the Red Sea, the first port trading direct with India was Muza,[96] which sent its ships straight to Barygaza Then came Okelis[97] with a good harbour and Kane[98] where ships took in water and provision for the long run From here the vessels for India went straight out to sea past Dioscorida,[99] the rest sailed up the coast of the frankincense[100] country (Arabia) which was extremely unhealthy Moscha[101] was an important port for frankincense and the travellers came to the Persian Gulf At the mouth of the Euphrates was Apologus[102] which imported timber (sandalwood, teak, ebony and black wood) from Barygaza [103]

India had many ports for the export of her surplus produce, and many of them were included in the Kuṣāna empire during the reign of Kaniska The country round about Rhambacia yielded wheat, wine, rice and dates which were exported from Oraea [104] Along the coast, bdellium was produced [105] It was the gum of a tree which was used as an incense and as a cordial medicine [106] In Sind, the important market town, Barbaricum (Barbaricon) was situated on the navigable mouth of the Sinthus (Indus) river The ships lay anchor in the port, but their cargoes were carried up to the metropolis (Minnagara)[107] by the river There were imported into the market a great deal of thin clothing and little spurious, figured linens, topaz, coral, storax, frankincense vessels of glass, silver and gold plate and a little wine On the other hand, there were exported costus [108] bdellium lycium,[109] nard [110] turquoise, lapis *lazuli, Seric skins cotton cloth, silk yarn and indigo* [111]

The port of Barygaza (Broach) had a rich hinterland, Gujarat produced wheat, rice sesame oil, clarified butter, cotton and the Indian cloths made therefrom of the coarser sorts Much cotton cloth was brought from its capital, Minnagara[112] to Barygaza [113] To the east was Ozene (Ujjain), many things needed for the welfare of the country about Barygaza and for trade were brought there: agate, cornelian Indian muslins and mallow cloth and much ordinary cloth Through the same region and from the upper coun-

try was brought the spikenard[114] that came through Poclais (Puskalavati modern Charsadda) Caspapyrene (Kashmir) Paropanisene (the Hindu Kush) and Cabolitic (Kabul Valley) Costus and bdellium came through the adjoining country of Scythia[115] Raw silk silk yarn and silk cloth were brought on foot through Bactria from China[116] The imports included wine (Italian preferred also Laodicean[117] and Arabian), copper, tin lead coral,[118] thin clothing and inferior sorts of all kinds of cloth, bright coloured girdles a cubit wide storax sweet clover flint glass realgar[119] antimony[120] gold and silver coin on which there was profit when exchanged for the money of the country and ointment but not very costly and not much For the king Nambanus (evidently Nahapana) there were brought into those places very costly vessels of silver, singing boys, beautiful maidens for the harem, fine wines thin clothing of the finest weaves and the choicest ointments[121]

According to Pliny, Indian sugar was more esteemed than that from Arabia[122] The Greeks were at first surprised *to see sugar* extracted from sugar cane Strabo, citing Nearchos states that reeds in India yield honey without bees[123]

Indian diamonds, pearls, beryls and other precious stones were also much valued[124]

Outside the Kusana empire, some of the great South Indian ports which carried on a flourishing trade with foreign *countries* were Suppara[125], Calliena[126] and Muziris[127] Muziris was a very busy port abounding in cargo ships, but was infested with pirates Large ships went to these market towns on account of the great quantity and bulk of pepper and malabathrum[128] *exported from them*[129]

DIFFICULTIES IN SEA TRADE

The sailors who were engaged in trade with India had to face many difficulties They made full use of the Indian Etesian (Monsoon) winds about the month of July (Epiphi), as through these winds the voyage was more direct and sooner completed[130] But their journey sometimes proved very dangerous during this period. On the coast of India the Gulf of Eirinon (Rann of Kutch) was shallow, with shifting sand banks occurring continually and a great way from shore, so that when the shore was not in sight, ships ran aground, and if they *attempted* to *hold* their course, they were wrecked[131] The Gulf of *Baraca* (Kutch) was troubled by eddies rushing whirlpools and *serpents*[132] The passage to the port of Barygaza was difficult, and

the vessels were piloted with the help of large boats [133] There were tides, and the entrance and departure of vessels were very dangerous to those who were inexperienced or who came to the market town for the first time [134] In South Indian ports there was danger from pirates [135]

MALPRACTICES AND TESTS FOR DETECTION

The traders made huge profits, some of them were so avaricious that they sometimes resorted to adulteration for this purpose But tests had also been devised to detect their malpractices Indian bdellium was adulterated with almond nut The various other kinds were corrupted with the bark of scordastum the tree of this name producing a gum which resembles bdellium But the adulterations of perfumes were detected by their smell, by their colour, weight, taste and by the action of fire [136] Nard which, according to Pliny, held the first place among unguents, was adulterated with a plant called pseudo nard which grew everywhere and had a leaf unusually thick and broad and a sickly colour inclining to white It was further adulterated by being mixed with its own root to give it additional weight—a purpose for which gum and the litharge of silver were also employed and sometimes antimony and cypirus or at least cypirus bark Its purity was however, tested by its lightness the redness of its colour the sweetness of its smell, and 'more particularly the taste, which parched the mouth, while at the same time the flavour was most delicious [137] Indicum was adulterated with pigeons dung stained with genuine indicum or with selinusian or anularian chalk dyed with wood It was however tested by placing it on hot coals, when if it be genuine, it gave out a fine purple flame and while smoking a scent as of sea-water [138] These tests must have proved very valuable for curbing the nefarious activities of some dishonest merchants, the Indian goods were in great demand, and they continued to attract foreign customers for many centuries

FOOT-NOTES

1 See pp 203 205

Indian ivory articles of the Kusāna period have been found in Pompeii and Roman glass-ware in the palace of the Kusana rulers in Begram (B Gafurov-*KSIU*, p 8)

2 See pp 46 47

3 See pp 84

4 See pp 143 51

5 See p 162

6 Isidore of Charax who wrote towards the close of the first century B C has given a list of such stations, vide *PSIC* pp 3 9

7 See Map III

8 *HPS* p 379

9 *POES* p 8

The sailors who came to Barygaza (Broach) from Egypt made the voyage favourably about the month of July (Epiphi) (*POES*, 49, p 42)

10 See p 51, f n 26

11 See p 78 79

12 *NH* XII, 41,
POES, p 14

13 *POES*, pp 219 20

14 Tacitus-Annals, iii, 53, vide *POES*, p 219

15 $=25 sesterces

16 *POES*, p 219

17 *NH*, 18, 41, vide AICL, p 125

18 1 sesterce=about 2d (COD)

19 *History*, Chap 2, vide *CIS*, Pt I p 21

20 *HHC*, Chap 88 vide POES, p 276

21 Denarious was an ancient Roman silver coin (originally about 8d), whence English "d' for penny (COD)

22 Apollodotos was an Indo Greek king who ruled in the Punjab in the 2nd century B C He is believed to have succeeded to the throne after murdering his father Eucratides (c 156 B C)

23 Menander was an Indo Greek king who ruled in the 2nd century B C

24. *POES*, 47, pp 41-42.

25 *PASB*, 1879, p 122, *BIC*, pp 57-58, *JASB*, III, p 562

26 *CIS*, t I p 20

27 *CBM*, p liii *IHQ* 1929, p 75
Wema Kadphises also struck pieces of the weight of two aurei, the largest gold coins of his successors were however, aurei (*ICR*, 1898, p 17)

28 *POES* 47, p 41

29 Drachma was an ancient Greek silver coin (9¾d) (COD)

30 The king of Bactria who forced Antiochos the Great of Syria to recognize the independence of his kingdom (c 206 B C)

31 The king of Bactria who succeeded to the throne about 175 B C and waged successful wars in India

32 An Indo Greek king later than Eucratides, possibly his contemporary

33 The last Indo Greek king of Kabul who ruled in the beginning of the Ist century A D

34 *CIB*, pp 14 15

35 It is situated on the north coast of Egypt

36 It is situated in Syria

37 *Orat*, XXXII, p 672 *AICL*, p 215

38 It was a Graeco Roman port on the east coast of the Red Sea just south of Wajh Saudi Arabia, see Map VI

39 It was the capital of the Nabateans in Wadi Araba, Jordan

40 It is situated on the north coast of Egypt

41 It was a Graeco Roman port on the west side of the Gulf of Suez opposite Tor, Egypt

42 It was at a distance of one mile from the right bank of the Nile in lat 26°N

43 Strabo *Geography*, XVI, iv, 24, vide *AICL*, p 101

44 *Ibid*

45. It is situated near Baghdad in Iraq

46 Modern Hamadan in Persia

47 Modern Damghan in Persia

48 Modern Antakya in South Turkey

49 See above, f n 36

50 It is situated in Syria

51 A Mediterranean port in Egypt
52 Modern Sira, a port in Lebanon
53 Modern Saida a port in Lebanon
54 *NH*, VI, 28 144 See Map VI
55 Modern Kandahar in South Afghanistan
56 *PSIC* pp 3 9
57 A Greek city on the right bank of the Euphrates opposite Bir ecik in Turkey
58 A Greek city immediately opposite Ctesiphon in Iraq
59 Its site is now occupied by modern Teheran in Persia
60 I schoeni = $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles
61 A pass in the Elburz mountains in Persia It was a narrow passage and according to Arrian it was reached by Alexander in one day s rapid march from Rhagai, when he was in pursuit of Darius It can be identified with the Sirdaru pass which is forty miles from Rhagai is entered by a narrow passage and winds tortuously for six miles vide AICL, p 81, note
62 Modern Farah in West Afghanistan
63 *OGP* Bk I Chap 12 5 10 vide *AIP* p 261
64 It can be identified with Jerablus Its latitude was given by Ptolemy as 36 15 while its real latitude is 36 28
65 It was also called by the same name (*AICL* p 261) It can be identified with Gurgan in North Persia
66 It can be identified with Mary (Merv) in Turkeministan in U S S R
67 Modern Herat in West Afghanistan
68 Modern Balkh in North Afghanistan
69 Now the capital of Uzbekistan (U S S R)
70 *AIP* p 12, note 9
71 In Sinkiang
72 *JRGS* Vol XLII p 327 AIP p 12, note 9
73 *AIP* pp 298, 303 304

It can be identified with Kashgar (Shule or Shufu) in Sinkiang in China
74 The third route passing through Kulja was not famous
75 They are situated in Sinkiang in China
76 See p 192

77 They are situated in Sinkiang in China See Map VI
78 *IAC* pp 12-16 RSCE, pp 69-70
79 Ansi and Yumen are situated in Kansu (China)
80 *AIP* p 300
81 Modern Changan in Shensi (China)
82 *AIP*, p 15
83 *OGP*, XI 9 vide *AIP*, p 269
84 See p 250
85 *AIP* pp 167 69
86 It was situated in Gedrosia (Modern Baluchistan in West Pakistan) It was an inland city and was according to the *Periplus*, seven days' journey from the sea (*POES*, 37, p 37)
87 *POES*, 37-39 pp 36 38
88 *POES*, 48 p 42
89 Curtius C IV vide *AIP* pp 270 71
90 *History*, Bk XXIII vide *AIP*, pp 323 29
91 *OGP*, Bk I, Chap II 6 , *AIP*, p 14
92 *POES*, p 37
93 *POES*, 63, p 270
94 Strabo Geogr ii v, 12 vide *AICL*, p 98
95 Dion Cassius History of Rome LXVII, 28, vide *AICL* p 213
96 Modern Mocha port on the coast of Yemen
97 A port in South Arabia
98 A port in South Arabia
99 Modern Socotra, an island in the Indian Ocean See Map VI
100 Frankincense or white incense was a famous product of Arabia
101 A port in South Arabia
102 It can be identified with Charax Spasini (modern Khurram shahr) in Persia
103. *POES*, 27 , *HWW* pp 112-13
104 *POES*, 37, pp 36 37
Oraea was a small market-town and a port in Gedrosia (now Baluchistan in West Pakistan)

105 *POES*, 37, pp 36-37

106 *NH*, XII, vide *AICL*, p 123

107 Minnagara can be identified with Hyderabad (Sind) which was called Binagara by Ptolemy (*AIP*, p 151).

108 Costus (Sanskrit Kustha) was considered to be the best of aromatic roots It was the root of a tall perennial and was used as a spice and perfume It was also employed in the preparation of ointments

109 It was a shrub used in the preparation of a yellow dye and medicine

110 An aromatic plant It was used in the preparation of perfumes and medicines

111 *POES* 39 pp 37-38

112 This Minnagara can be identified with Minnagara mentioned by Ptolemy in *OGP*, Bk VII, Cap 1, 63, vide *AIP*, p 132 According to him, it was 1° 50'W and 30' S of Ozene (Ujjain) This position represents the present Kathiwara village about 20 miles from Gohad The ancient city of Minnagara may therefore be identified with the latter city (cf *JRAS*, 1912, p 788)

113 *POES* 41 p 39

114 A perennial herb used as an ointment

115 *POES*, p 42

116 The traders who brought silk had broad, flat faces, and they were by nature peaceable, they were called Besatae and were almost entirely uncivilized They came with their wives and children, carrying great packs and plaited baskets of what looked like green grape leaves (*POES*, 65, p 48)

117 From Laodicea (modern Denizli in Turkey)

118 It was used as an ornament and as an amulet (*NH*, Bk XXXII, C 2 (ii), vide *AICL*, p. 128)

119 Red sulphide of arsenic used as an antiseptic

120 Used for ointment and eye-tinctures

121 *POES*, 49, p 42

122 *NH*, vide AICL, p 122

123. *AICL*, p. 122, f n 3.

124 *NH*, XXXVII, C 1-13, vide *AICL*, pp 129-35.

125 Suppara in Thana District near Bombay

126 Modern Kalyan near Bombay

127 Modern Cranganore, a port on the west coast of India It is situated on the Periyar river

128 A product of the cinnamon tree

129 *POES*, 52 56, pp 43 44

130 *Ibid*, 39, p 38

131 *POES*, 40, p 38

132 *Ibid*, 40, p 38

133 *Ibid*, 43, p 40

134 *POES*, 36, p 41

135 *Ibid*, 53, p 44

136 *NH*, XII, vide *AICL*, p 123

137 *NH*, XII, C, 26, vide *AICL*, p 124

138 *NH*, XXXV, C 6 (27), vide *AICL*, p 129

10

GENERAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE IN THE KUSĀNA EMPIRE

GREAT EXTENT OF THE KUSĀNA EMPIRE

The Kusāna empire extended over a wide area, stretching from Bactria to Magadha and from Kashmir to Saurashtra, under Wema Kadphises and his successors [1] It contained many big and flourishing cities which are mentioned by contemporary writers The accounts left by them and the archaeological explorations carried out in some of the cities throw some light on the condition of the people living in that period

FAMOUS CITIES

Some of the most famous cities which were included in the Kusāna empire were the following —

Baktra[2], Alexandreia Areiaus[3], Ortospana or Karoura[4], Prophthasia[5], the Stone Tower[6], Nagara[7] or Nagarahāra, Begrām[8], Bagolango[9], Termedh[10], Proklais[11] or Pushkalāvatī, Purushapura[12], Banagara[13], Taxiala[14] or Takshasila, Sagala[15] Lobokla[16], Ostobalasara[17] or Thanesar, Indabara[18] or Indraprastha, Madoura[19] or Mathura, Gagasmira[20], Kanagora[21], Adisbara[22] or Ahichhatra, Minnagara[23] (Hyderabad), Barbarei [24] (Barbaricon), Barygaza[25] (Broach), Minnagara[26] (Dohad) Ozene[27] (Ujjain), Nasika[28], Panassa[29], Palimbothra[30] (Pātaliputra), Śravastī[31], Kausāmbi[32], Bhītā[33], Heorta[34], Borata[35], Koryygaza[36], Sagoda[37], Barānsi[38] (Varanasi), Kaniskapura[39], Huskapura[40], Airtam[41] and Khalchayan [42] Purushapura Taxila, Mathura and Varanasi were great centres of pilgrimage, Purushapura was well known for Kaniska's pagoda and monastery, Taxila for the Dharmarājikā stūpa, Mathura for the temples dedicated to the Buddhist, Jain and Hindu deities, and

Varanasi for Buddha's first sermon at Sarnath Barbaricon and Barygaza were the most important ports for trade with foreign countries [43] The Stone Tower was a great rendezvous for caravans engaged in commercial intercourse between the East and the West by the land route [44]

Some cities had defensive works constructed round them, so that the inhabitants might be able to protect themselves in case of danger The defences which the Kusaṇas built round their new city Sirsukh, have been revealed by excavations [45] Its plan was roughly a parallelogram about 3 miles in circuit The walls were constructed of rough rubble faced with neatly fitting lime stone masonry of the large diaper type that came into vogue in the early Kusana period They were provided at the base both on their inner and outer surface with a heavy roll plinth to strengthen the foundations The walls were 18 6″ thick and were protected by semi circular bastions on the outer side at intervals of 90 , access to the interior of which was provided by a narrow passage carried through the thickness of the walls The bastions and the walls were furnished with loop holes placed immediately above the plinth at a height of less than 5′ above the old floor level from which the defenders could shoot at the attacking enemy The floors of the bastions were made of lime concrete containing a large admixture of river-sand

The city of Mathura was also well fortified It was enclosed by a mud brick-wall, probably twenty feet thick and fifty or more feet high backed by a substantial earthen rampart [46]

The remnants of a huge fortified city near Termez have recently been discovered by Soviet archaeologists It is bigger in size than all the other populated settlements of the Kusana epoch in the territory of U S S R The fortress had strong walls, surrounded by a wide and deep moat Pugachenkova thinks that it might have been the first capital of the Kusana kingdom[47]

VARIOUS NATIONALITIES AND TRIBES

The Kusāna empire contained many nationalities and tribes, and the Kusana emperors did not make any distinction between them for filling up responsible posts in the government of the country Asvaghosa the spiritual adviser of Kaniska, was an Indian, Agesilaos[48], the superintendent of works, was probably a Greek, Vanaspara[49], the provincial governor, was a Parthian, and

Kstrapas Liaka and Vespasi[50] were Sakas In the north western parts of the empire many tribes were living some of them had territorial designations Ptolemy has given a long list of tribes residing in Bactria Zariaspai was named after Zariaspa and Khomaroi after Khomara [51] In India many republican tr bes such as Yaudheyas and Nagas had been subjugated by the Kusanas[52] but they were waiting for a chance to assert their independence

GENERAL PROSPERITY OF THE COUNTRY

The Kusana empire carried on a very favourable balan e of trade with foreign countries [53] It result d in the impor of gold on a large scale the issue of an extensive gold coinage by the Kusana kings[54] and the general prosperity of the country which is reflected in the large use of articles of luxury by the people Some of the gold ornaments wh ch have been recovered from the ruins at Taxila are ear pendants finger rings cl asps repousse repousse medallions necklace and beads Some other precious articles such as a necklace of cornelian garnet calcedony crystal malachite lapis lazuli and pearl beads have also been recovered from that city [55] There is no doubt that the Kusanas themselves were very fond of jewellery their excellent art in this line is marked by abstract geometric designs and by the flowing linear rhythm of vegetal and animal forms The imperial cap of Kaniska was set with precious stones [56]

Men and women both u ed ornaments The man portrayed in the Br tish Museum Stone image inscription of the year 10 is wearing a necklace bracelets and ear drops [57] The youths depicted in the Mamano Dheri relief have also similar ornaments [58] An iron mirror handle has been found in the ruins of Sirsukh [59] Various kinds of scents which were obta ned from aromatic plants[60] were also utilized Contemporary literature even though dealing with a different period describes the use by women of face paint by means of sticks of paint[61] m rrors[62] costly conches[63] many coloured rugs[64] beryls and diamonds[65] ear rings[66] anklets[67] and necklaces of pearls [68] Their use in the Ku ana period is confirmed by the portrayal of toilet scenes on the ivory boxes found at Begram[69] and the discovery of the specimens of some of those articles in the debris of Taxila [70]

POVERTY IN THE MIDST OF PLENTY

Even thou h the Kusana empire had become rich and prosperous on account of foreign trade there was poverty in the midst of plenty even in big cities The rich people no doubt lived a

life of luxury, wore ornaments and fine clothes, used perfumes and indulged in gambling and drinking[71], but the poor people had to lead a miserable life—some of them were completely destitute and had to depend on the charity of the rich A good evidence for this state of affairs is afforded by the Mathura Stone inscription of the year 28 according to which the lord of Vakan and Kharasalera made a perpetual endowment, from the interest of which Brahmans were to be fed and powdered fried corn, salt and vegetables were to be distributed to "the destitute people, hungry and thirsty in Mathura [77] The rich people made these gifts in order to seek divine blessings and to satisfy their conscience that they had done some meritorious act in their life time

OCCUPATIONS

The main occupations of the people were agriculture cattle-rearing trade and commerce manual labour work in some craft, government service (including service in the army) and priestly functions including teaching as a member of some monastic order. The farmers grew not only cereals [3] but also sugar cane,[74] oil seeds,[75] cotton [6] and medicinal and aromatic plants[7] for which India was famous as an exporting country Fruit trees were also grown in abundance [78] The people who lived near the Indus had to suffer much on account of floods and the frequent changes in the course of the river [79] Trade and commerce flourished on account of the peaceful conditions which prevailed in the country The traders reaped huge profits from foreign trade which was carried on both by land-routes and sea routes [80] They had however, to face many hardships in their journeys [81] A large number of craftsmen and labourers were employed in constructing monasteries stūpas and other buildings The names of some goldsmiths [82] carpenters,[83] iron-smiths,[84] perfumers,[85] dyers[86] and bankers[87] are mentioned in contemporary inscriptions There were some professional actors, the name of one troupe is given in a Mathura Jain inscription where the donors are described as the sons of sailalakas[88]—"sailalin'—a word used for actors The inscription also shows that play acting was the business of particular families—a fact which can also be inferred from the introduction to many Sanskrit dramas where the naṭī is sometimes called the wife of the sūtra dhara and his brothers are mentioned as actors [89] Some of the business-men were organized into guilds, the Mathura

Stone inscription of the year 28 mentions two guilds which were given an endowment for feeding the Brahmans and giving alms to the poor [90]

A large four-divisioned army which was maintained by Kaniska[91] offered careers to many people, and many officials were engaged in the administration of the country The priestly class—Buddhist, Jain and Hindu—formed a fair proportion of the population

In the north western parts of the empire, there were striking contrasts in the nature of the country, and the occupations of the inhabitants varied with it In the country of Sakai in the neighbourhood of the Stone Tower there were many nomads who dwelt in woods and caves [92] In Bactria [93] corn and fruit were grown in the fertile tracts, and the inferior soil was used for the pasturage of cattle But extensive areas were lying completely barren, they were wild wastes of sand parched with drought where violent winds blew and obliterated even the roads [94]

EDUCATION

Instruction was mainly of a religious character Monasteries served as great centres of learning The monks who resided there had to cut off all domestic ties and to live like a large federation of the teachers and the taught The monasteries were supported by kings and the laity Some of them became famous as the residence of great scholars [95] The Brahmans imparted education in their own homes

The pupils used wooden boards and inkpots for learning the art of writing, the use of such materials is depicted in the Mamano Dheri inscription [96] Instruction was mainly by oral tradition Paper was very sparingly used The earliest manuscripts are generally found on palm-leaves [97] birch bark,[98] pieces of wood [99] leather,[100] stone [101] earthen-ware [102] and objects of metal such as gold,[103] silver[104] and copper[105] or of bone [106]

The most popular scripts were Kharoshthi and Brahmi-Kharoshthi in the north-western parts of the Kusana empire and Brahmi in the eastern and central parts of India [107] Greek was also understood, it appears on all coins of the Kusana kings, but only one detailed inscription in Greek script has so far been discovered [108]

LANGUAGES

The most popular languages in the Kusana empire were the Prakrits,[109] but Sanskrit continued to exercise a powerful influence on them. Very few Sanskrit inscriptions relating to this period have been found, the language of most of them is a mixed dialect consisting partly of Prakrit and partly of Sanskrit words and forms.[110] The Kosam inscription of the year 2[111] shows this tendency in the case endings Maharajasya (a regular Sanskrit ending) and Kaniskasa (a Prakrit case ending). It shows that Prakrit was the dominant language in popular usage, though Sanskrit continued to be used as in the Isapur inscription of the year 24[112] and the Sanchi inscription of the year 28.[113] The use of Sanskrit as a spoken language was restricted to highly educated classes. The dramas of Asvaghosa employed Prakrit languages for the female and secondary characters, and Sanskrit for the upper classes. Indo-Bactrian language was used in Bactria.[114]

DRESS

There were many types of dress made of cotton and silk which were in vogue in different parts of the empire. The people who lived in the north west generally wore garments which were sewn and close fitting evidently to withstand the cold climate of the country. Kaniska's headless statue at Mat and his figure on his coins provide a good specimen for this purpose: a close fitting tunic, an open fronted long coat reaching beneath knees and heavy boots.[115] The statue of Chastana is shown wearing a tunic and trousers.[116] Women generally wore close-fitting whole-length frocks or skirts with scarfs or a costume looking like a thick sari.[117] They did not use any veil. The most popular dress of the people living in the Indian plains was a loose piece of cloth (dhoti or sāri) with no tailoring.

DIET

Rice[118], barley (bosmoron)[119], wheat[120], milk, and vegetables[121] were the staple diet of the people. A strange custom is recorded about bosmoron that it was roasted after being threshed out and that the men were bound by oath not to take it away before it had been roasted to prevent the seed from being exported.[122] The Mathura Stone inscription of the year 28 records powdered fried corn as one of the articles which was daily given in charity.[123] The people liked milk and the products derived from it—curd,

ghee[104], butter and butter-milk Salt[105] sugar[106], molasses[107], spices[108] and oils[109] were also included in the Indian diet

HOUSE-HOLD FURNITURE

Some of the articles of household use which have been excavated from Sirsukh Rupar and other places pertaining to the Kusāna period are silver and iron utensils, drinking bowls earthen-ware, jars of the type employed for the storage of grain oil or water, keys, lamps, spoons and tripod-stands [130]

AMUSEMENTS

The people were very fond of singing, dancing and drinking [131] Wine was obtained from palm[132], and some varieties of wine were also imported According to the *Periplus*, Italian, Laodicean and Arabian wines were preferred for import [133] Aelian speaks of the drinking bouts of the Indians[134], and Apollonius saw some of them rolling about drunk with palm wine [135]

The Indians also indulged in gambling, gambling dice have been recovered from monasteries Nos 1 and 10 in Taxila [136]

Some of the other amusements which the Indians enjoyed to witness were dramatic shows [137] races between oxen yoked in chariots, laying heavy bets upon them[138] and fights between elephants, wild bulls and tame rams [139]

Horses and elephants were held in high esteem [140] The north western parts of the empire were excellent breeding-grounds for horses [141] According to Aelian the elephants were caught when they were of tender age and docile [142] The Indians brought them up delicately, supplying them with the food they liked most, grooming them carefully and talking to them in soothing accent They reared them up like children, bestowing on them great care and attention and subjecting them to a long course of training The elephants became docile loved their masters ate out of their hands like dogs and coaxed them with their trunks [143]

SUPERSTITIONS

The Indians believed in many superstitions According to Apollonius the people living near the Indus had seen Empusas who now in this form and again in that followed men and when attacked with scoffs and jeers fled away jabbering [144] The Indian sooth sayers regarded coral as the most sacred of amulets ensuring protection against all dangers [145]

STATUS OF WOMEN

Women enjoyed great freedom in India They did not use any veil. They performed many acts of religious merit [146] Some of them were highly educated and occupied responsible positions in the monastic orders of the Buddhists and the Jains [147]

INFLUENCE OF RELIGION

Religion exercised a powerful influence on the life of the people, and the priests were treated with great respect They served not only as spiritual advisers, but also as teachers for spreading education

Private acts of charity and religious functions were very common , they were performed to earn religious merit Wells were dug[148] and images installed[149] for this purpose Many meritorious acts of this kind are mentioned in inscriptions of this period

BUDDHISM

Buddhism was the most popular and predominant religion in the Kusāna empire , it closely knit together in common cultural bond its followers of different tribes and nationalities The Buddhist community was divided into four classes which are mentioned in inscriptions — (a) the bhiksus[150] (monks), (b) the bhiksunīs[151] (nuns) (c) the upasakas[152] (men lay-worshippers) and (d) the upasikās[153] (women lay-worshippers). The Buddhist monks and nuns lived in monasteries under strict discipline [154] The life of nuns was, however, full of risks, even though they enjoyed great respect. They were sometimes tormented by young men [155] The Buddha had foreseen this danger, and had admitted women to his order with great reluctance.[156] Some of the nuns, however, rose to high positions in the monastic order , Buddhamitra was well versed in the Tripitaka and was the female pupil of the famous monk, Bala[157], who was also well versed in Tripitaka She set up a Bodhisattva image at the promenade of Lord Buddha at Kosam [158] Her sister's daughter was also a nun who established a Bodhisattva image at Madhuravanaka at Mathura [159]

The Buddhist monks and nuns were responsible for the erection of statues of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas.[160] The name of the friar Bala is frequently mentioned in this connection. He was a master of Tripitaka and a fellow of the friar Pusyavuddhi [161] He was the donor of the colossal Bodhisattva statue at Sarnath[162]

bearing an inscription of the year 3, and of the Srīvasti image (now in the Calcutta Museum)[163] There is a striking resemblance of the two images in style and workmanship and of their inscriptions in language and script His name also occurs on an inscribed Bodhisattva image of the year 33 as the spiritual preceptor of Buddhamitra[164] whose name is found among the donors of the Sarnath image The name of Buddhamitra, the female pupil of Bala, also occurs in the Kosam inscription of the year 2 [165]

It may look strange that friars and nuns who were not allowed to have worldly possessions became donors of images But we know that they were allowed to collect money for religious purposes and that such religious works were believed to be better carried out under their supervision in a strictly orthodox style The contributors sometimes considered it proper to include the names of eminent religious teachers as the real donors instead of mentioning the fact that the donation was made on the advice of such and such a friar or a nun For example in the Sarnath Buddhist image inscription of the year 3, it is recorded that it was erected by the great satrap Kharapallana with the satrap Vanaspara and that it was the gift of the friar Bala [166]

The Sarvāstivādin school was the most popular of the eighteen sects of Buddhism , the followers of this school believed in the permanent reality of all things (sarvam asti)[167] It was an orthodox school, and monasteries and statues were dedicated in its name Bala, a companion of the monk Pusya (vriddhi) was one of its famous preceptors , he gave the Bodhisattva image at Saheth Maheth as the property of the school [168] The Kurram Casket inscription of the year 20 mentions the establishment of a relic of the Lord Śākyamuni in a stūpa by the son of Yasa in his own grove in the new Vihāra in the acceptance of the Sarvastivadin teachers and sums up the philosophy of Pratītyasamutpāda (dependently co ordinated origination) of the Buddhists as follows — "The origin of the whole aggregate of suffering is in interconnection with delusion the samsakaras (mental formatives), with the samsakāras consciousness, with consciousness name and form, with name and form the six organs, with the six organs touch, with touch sensation, with sensation thirst, with thirst grasping, with grasping life, with life birth, with birth decay, death, grief, lamentation, suffering, dejection, despair."[169]

The Mahasanghikas who believed in the lokottara (supra mundane) existence of the Buddhas and were the fore runners of the Mahayana had their own establishments The Wardak Vase inscription of the year 51 mentions the desposit of the relics of Sakyamuni in a stupa in the Vagramarega Vihara of the Mahasanghika teachers [1 0]

HINDUISM

The Hindus worshipped their own gods and goddesses Saivism was the most popular creed among them even some of the Kusana kings such as Wema Kadphises [1] Kaniska[1] Huviska[171] and Vasudeva paid homage to Lord Śiva by making his figure appear on their coins In the Terracotta sealings belonging to the Kusana period found at Sunet (Ludhiana District) the figures of Sankara Narayana or Sthanu (Śiva) make their appearance [1 5] Both the linga and the human forms of Siva were depicted [1 5a] The Surya (Sun) was also worshipped [1 b] A sculpture representing Kumara whose name appears on the Kusana coins has been discovered at Jogian Ka Tila in Rohtak [1 6] The figures of some other Hindu deities such as Visakha [7] and Mahasena[178] are also portrayed on the Kusana coinage The British Museum Image inscription of the year 10 describes the dedication of a temple to the goddess of the village (Devi gramasya) [1 9] The Isapur Column inscription of the year 24 mentions the setting up of a sacrificial post (Yupa) by the Brahman Dronala of the Bhardvaja gotra [180] The worship of snakes or nagas was also practised The Mathura inscription of the year 47 refers to the shrine of Dadhikarna the Lord of Snakes [181] The Chhargaon (now Mathura Museum) Naga inscription of the year 40 records the erection of the Naga image at a tank by two friends Senahasti and Bhondaka [8] Snake worship was an institution of great antiquity it was prevalent during Kusana times and still survives in the celebration of the snake festival (Naga Panchami) on the fifth lunar day of the bright half of Śravana

BUDDHIST AND HINDU ASCETICISM

Asceticism was widely practised among the Buddhists as well as the Brahmans Bardesanes who lived in the latter half of the second century A D has given an interesting comparison of the Buddhist and the Brahmanical systems of ascetic life [183] According to him the Brahmans believed in the caste system, their ascetics abstained from animal food lived a life of solitude in mountains

or on the banks of the Ganga, observed frequent fasts and kept silence for many days They did not pay any taxes to the king The Buddhist sages were collected from all classess, renounced their family ties and all worldly goods and lived outside the cities They took rice, bread, fruit and vegetables Their establishments were supported by kings

The Buddhist and the Brahman sages looked on life with contempt and gladly consigned their bodies to flames whenever they liked

They were held in high esteem by all Indians even the king himself used to visit them to solicit their counsels in times of emergency and their prayers when the country was in danger

JAINISM

The Jains were found in large numbers in all parts of the Kusana empire excepting the Punjab and the north west where we do not find any Jain temple of the Kusana period It was due to the restriction imposed by Jain canons 'the monks or nuns may wander towards the west as far as Thuna [184] (Thaneswara) Mathura was one of their greatest centres and a large number of Jain images—more numerous than those of the Buddhists—bearing Kusana dates have been found in that city Two magnificent Jain temples stood on the site where the Kankali Tila rises at present [185]

The Jain priestly class was highly organised and its preceptors belonged to different ganas (schools) kulas (families) sakhas (branches) and sambhogas (brotherhoods) The contemporary Mathura inscriptions give the following account of these divisions —

Gana	*Kula*	*Sakha*	*Sambhoga*	*Date (in year of the Kusana Era) of inscriptions*
Varana	Ārya Hattakiya	Vajanagari (Varjanagari)	—	4[186]
,,	,,	,,	Siriya	40[18]
,,	Pushyamitriya	—	—	29[188]
,,	Petivamika) (Praitivarmika)	—	—	47[189]
Varana		Vajanagari	Ārya Sirika	74[190]
,,	Nātika[191]		—	—
,,	Ārya anyista	Samkhasiya[192]	—	

Gana	*Kula*	*Śākha*	*Sambhoga*	*Date (in year of the Kuṣāṇa Era) of inscriptions*
Kottiya	Brahamadasika	Uchenagari (Uchchanagari)	—	5[193] 12[194] 25[195] 48[196]
,,	,,	,,	Śrigriha	5[197], 20[198]
,,	,,	,,	Arina[199]	—
,,	—	Arya-Vaira (Vajra)	—	9[200], 79[201]
,,	Thaniya (Sthāniya)	Vaira (Vajra)		9[202], 31[203] 99[204]
,,	,,	Veri (Vajra)	Śirika	20[205], 35[206]
,,	,,	Vera (Vajra)	Śrigriha	52[207], 14[208]
,,	,,	,,	Śirigriha (Śrigriha)	19[209]
,,	Vachchaliya	—		18[210]
,,	,,	Vidyādhari[211]	—	—
Kottiya	Pavahaka (Prasnavahanaka)	Majhama	—	90[212]
Ārya-Udchikiya	Nāgabhutikiya	—	—	7[213]
,,	Paridhasika	Petaputrika	—	98[214]
—	Mehika	—	—	15[215], 86[216]
—	Arya Chetika	Haritamālgadhi	—	58[217]

It appears that the followers of Varana and Kottiya ganas constituted the majority of the Jain clergy and their Vāchakas (preachers) exercised a great influence on their Śravakas (lay-votaries) in the matter of the installation of Jain images. The name of the venerable Vriddhahasti of the Kottiya gana, Sthānikiya kula and Arya Vajra sakha occurs in the inscriptions of the years 60[218] and 79[219] in connection with the installation of Jain images by Dattā.

The Jains worshipped naked images, some of which were four faced Most of them represent their great preceptor, Vardhamāna Mahāvīra Jain[220] They also adored the first Tirthankara (Risabha)[221], Sambhavanāth[222], Nandivarta[223], the elephant Nandivisala[224], the Divine Santi[225] and Saraswati[226]

The Jain nuns exercised a great influence on the Jain community in the installation of Jain images They generally entreated female lay-votaries to make donations At the request of the venerable Vasulā, the female pupil of the venerable Sanghamika, the female pupil of the venerable Jayabhuti out of the Mehika-kula, a standing Jina image was dedicated at Mathura in the year 15[227] In the year 86, at the request of the same nun a seated Jina image was installed in the same city[228], it appears that the venerable Vasulā enjoyed a long life The names of many other Jain nuns such as Kumāramitra,[229] Khuda[230] (Kshudra) and Dattā[231] appear in other inscriptions

GREEKS AND IRANIANS

The Greeks and the Iranians worshipped their own deities such as Helios, Salene and Fire, they are also portrayed on the Kusāna coins[232]

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

The Kusāna kings did not interfere in the religious beliefs of their subjects, they allowed perfect freedom of worship to the followers of all religions.[233]

JAYASWAL'S CONDEMNATION OF KUSĀNA RULE IN INDIA

Jayaswal takes an extremely different view, and paints a gloomy picture of the condition of the Hindus under the rule of the Kusānas[234] He charges them with the destruction of Hindu temples, the prohibition of Naga worship, the imposition of Buddhism, the depression of their high and aristocratic classes whom he calls "the custodians of national culture", the erection of Buddhist temples by the demolition of those of the Sacred Fire, the plunder of wealth from India for being carried to Bactria, the removal of one fourth of the population of Sipra to the same place and the massacre of the Indian population. He identifies Vanaspara, the Kusāna viceroy mentioned in the Sarnath inscription, with Visvasphati(ka), Visvasphāni and Vinivasphati who,

according to the Bhagwat, the Visnu and the Vayu Puranas had made the country practically Brahmanless, depressed the high caste Hindus and created a new ruling class out of the Kaivartas Pulinda Yavns Pañchakas and Madrakas He calls the Kusanas a "political and social scourge" which according to him, was removed by the "Saiva asceticism"

HIS CHARGES NOT JUSTIFIED

If we examine Jayaswal's arguments critically, we find that he is not justified in his views He relies too much on the general statements made in the Puranas about the Śakas and the Mlechchhas (unclean foreigners) whom he considers to be the Kusānas, but he does not take into consideration the contemporary ephigraphic, the numismatic and the archaeological evidence There is no doubt that Buddhism had become a predominant religion, and was favoured by Kaniska but it is wrong to suggest that Hindu temples were destroyed by him or his successors, and that Hindu life was suspended during the period of their rule. Concrete cases have already been cited to show that the Hindus worshipped Naga and other deities [235] and that the Kusanas kings had liberal views which they expressed by depicting Hindu, Iranian and Greek gods and goddesses on their coins "[236] They were being gradually Indianised with the result that Kaniska and his successors adopted India as their home-land, erected magnificent monuments in India and not Bactria "[237] Vasudeva, the last great early Kusāna ruler, bore an Indian name and his most favourite deity was Oksho (Śiva). Śaiva asceticism was, therefore not something foreign to their creed, but was a part of their religion Further, Kaniska was undoubtedly very cruel in his war against Parthia, but no Kusana king indulged in any large scale massacre in India The identification of Vanaspara of the Sarnath inscription with the cruel Vimvasphati of the Puranas is extremely doubtful, and we have no reason to believe that his name is associated with the low caste Banasphas of Bundelkhand and their language Banaphari Even if we accept the identification, we should bear in mind that the main reason why the wrath of the orthodox writers of the Purānas was roused against him was that he was a Buddhist, and did not believe in the caste system Similar views against the opponents of the caste system are expressed in the Mahabharata [238]

It is true that Buddhism had become very popular during the Kusāna times on account of its simplicity, its discard of ceremonials

and its abolition of the caste system and Brahmanism was losing its ground But these changes were not brought about by any acts of omission or commission on the part of the Kusana rulers They allowed the followers of different religions to worship in their own ways The Brahmans were not persecuted, on the other hand, we find a definite case during the reign of Vāsiska in which a perpetual endowment was made in Mathura by the lord of Wakan for feeding the Brahmans in the Eastern Hall of Merit "[39]

JEALOUSY BETWEEN THE BUDDHISTS AND THE JAINS

The Jains who set up a large number of inscribed images were regarded as rivals and treated with jealousy by the Buddhists They were called stupid Ni kien (nirgranthas) "[40] In one of the stories related about them in the Sūtralamkara it is stated that a Jain stupa broke into pieces, when king Kaniska bowed before it, mistaking it for that of the Buddha Among the sentences which he is stated to have uttered at this sight are the following —

"He is not pure the son of Ni kien (nirgrantha putra"[41])"

PEACEFUL CO EXISTENCE

Leaving aside these petty jealousies, we find the Buddhists, the Jains, the Hindus and the followers of other religions living side by side peacefully, carrying out their religious practices and following different occupations without any restriction There were no communal disturbances, on the other hand, there was peaceful co existence Many Buddhists and Jains even expressed cosmopolitan views in their inscriptions, when they solicited blessings not only for themselves or their relatives, but also for the whole of mankind[24] in almost identical terms,

"Sarva satvānam hita-sukhāye (bhavatu)"

"May it be conducive to the welfare and happiness of all beings !"[243]

FOOT-NOTES

1 See pp 43, 79, 84, 157

2 *AIP*, p 269

Modern Balkh in North Afghanistan It was a great commercial entrepot of East Asia

3 *Ibid*, p 307
Modern Herat in West Afghanistan It was situated on the land route from Ecbatana to the Stone Tower

4 *Ibid*, p 311
It can be identified with Kabul, with its Bala Hisar or "high fort" which is a Persian translation of Ortospana or Ūrddhasthāna i e high place or 'lofty city"

5 *Ibid* p 313
Modern Phra (Farrah) in West Afghanistan It was a great commercial centre on the land-route from Antioch to Kandahar (see p 249) Tarn locates Prophthasia south of Phra (GBI p 14)

6 *Ibid*, p 12
Modern Tashkent in Uzbekistan (U S S R) It was a great centre of trade with China

7 *Ibid* p 112
Modern Jalalabad in Afghanistan

8 See Appendix III
It was the capital of ancient Kapisa

9 See Appendix IV
Modern Surkh Kotal in Afghanistan It lies en route from Kabul to Mazar i-Sharif

10 See Appendix V
Modern Termez in Uzbekistan (U S S R)

11 *AIP*, p 115
It is represented by the modern Charsadda, 16 miles north east of Peshawar

12 Modern Peshawar

13 *AIP*, p 136
Modern Bannu in West Pakistan

14 *Ibid*, p 118
Modern Taxila in West Pakistan

15 *Ibid*, p 121
It has been identified with Sangala Hill, about 60 miles from Lahore in West Pakistan

16 *Ibid*, p 124
It is represented by Lahore in West Pakistan It was named after Lava, the son of Rama, by whom it was founded

17 *Ibid* p 124
It was also called Sthaneśvara It is situated in Haryana which was included in the Punjab

18 *Ibid* p 124
The site of the city was in the neighbourhood of Delhi

19 *Ibid* p 124
It is situated on the Yamuna It was a great religious centre

20 *Ibid* p 124
It has been identified with Ajmer in Rajasthan

21 *Ibid* p 131
It has been identified with Kanauj which is situated on the bank of the Kali Nadi a branch of the Ganga in the modern Farrukhabad District of U P

22 *Ibid* p 131
Modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly District of U P

23 See Chapter 9

24 *AIP*, p 146
For an explanation of its site see pp 51 f n 30

25 *POES* 41, p 39
For further details about the city see p 51 f n 26 255 56

26 *Ibid* p 132
For an explanation of its site see p 255 f n 9

27 *AIP* p 152
For further details about the city see Chapter 9

28 *Ibid* p 152
It can be identified with Nasik in the Bombay State

29 *Ibid* p 164
It can be identified with Panna in the Madhya Pradesh State There are diamond mines in its neighbourhood

30 *Ibid* p 167
For further details about the city, see p 77 Modern Patna

31 Modern Saheth Maheth

32 Modern Kosam

33 *ASIAR* 1911 12, pp 29 94

34 *AIP* p 210
It can be identified with Hardwar on the Ganga river

35 *Ibid* p 212
It has been been identified with Bahraich in U P
36 *Ibid* p 212 Modern Gorakhpur in U P
37 *Ibid*, p 225
It has been identified with Saketa (modern Ayodhya in U P)
38 See Appendix I, Part B (3)
39 See p 110
40 See p 141
41 See Appendix V
42 *Ibid*
43 See Chapter 9
44 *Ibid*
45 *GT*, pp 4 6, 94-95
46 *SACI*, p 45
47 See Appendix V
48 See p 101
49 See p 107
50 *Ibid*
51 *OGP*, Bk II, 6-9, vide *AIP*, pp 268 69
52 See pp 107 108
53 See Chapt 9
54 *Ibid*
55 *GT* pp 79 81
56 *SK*, Chapt 6, vide *IA*, 1903 p 385
57 *EI*, Vol IX, pp 239 ff
58 *JRAS* 1931, p 131
59 *GT*, p 98
60 See Chapter 9
61 *SN*, IV, 16, p 21
Ibid, IV, 20, p 22
62 *Ibid*, IV, 20, p 22
63 *Ibid*, VI, 31, p 23
64 *Ibid*

65 *Ibid*

66 *Ibid* IV, 19, p 22

67 *Ibid* IV, 17, p 21

68 *Ibid* IV, 19 p 21

69 See photograph

70 *GT*, pp 79 81, 98

71 See p 219

72 *EI*, Vol XXI, pp 60 61

73 See Chapter 9

74 *Ibid*

75 *Ibid*

76 Strabo *Geography*, *Bk XV*, 20, vide *AICL*, pp 25 26

77 See Chapter 9

78 *NH*, Bk XII, C(11), C 6 (12), C(13), vide *AICL* pp 119 20

79 Strabo—*Geography*, *Bk* XII, 18 *AICL*, p 23

80 See Chapter 9

81 *Ibid*

82 Mathura inscription of the year 93, *EI*, Vol II, p 205

83 Mathura Jain Image inscription of the year 12, *EI*, Vol X, p 111

84 Mathura Jain Image inscription of the year 20, *EI*, Vol I, pp 383-84

85 Mathura inscriptions of the years 35, 83, 98, *EI*, Vol I, pp 385-86

86 Mathura Jain Statue inscription of the year 25, *EI*, Vol I, p 384

87 Mathura inscription of the year 38, *IA*, Vol XXXIII, pp 40-41

88 *EI*, Vol I, p 390

89 *EI*, Vol I, p 381

90 *EI*, Vol XXI, pp *55 61* One of the guilds consisted of flour-makers

91 See p 109

92 *OGP*, Cap 13,2 vide *AIP*, p 284

93 Curtius, vide *AIP*, 270

94. *Ibid*

95 *OYCT* Vol I, p 208

96 *JRAS* 1931, pp 131-33

97 *OYCI*, Vol I pp 166 67

98 Khotanese Manuscripts , *IP*, p 66

99 Documents discovered by Stein in Taklamakan Desert , *SACI*, p 46

100 Stein—Preliminary Report on a journey in Chinese Turkestan, pp 42 52

101 Mathura Stone-slab inscription of the year 28 , *EI*, Vol XXI, pp 55 61

102 *Mohenjodaro Fragments* , *CII* Vol II Pt I, p 173

103 *ASIR* Vol II Pl 59 , IP p 77

104 Manikiala Silver Disc inscription of the year 136 , *EI* Vol, XIV pp 285 95

105 Sue Vihara Copper Plate inscription of the year 11 *CII* Vol II Pt I, pp 138 41

106 Bone lid inscription of the year 18 from Afghanistan *CII*, Vol II Pt I pp 151 52

107 See p 8, f n 1 , p 9, f n 12
Aramaic Script was also used in Soghd and Khorezm, *KSIU*, pp 47 48

108 Excavations at Surkh Kotal in Afghanistan carried out by the French Archaeological Mission vide personal letter No 08/57 dated 26 8 57 See Appendix IV

109 Iranian and Greek were spoken in the north western parts of the empire Bactria Soghd and Khorezm each had its local spoken and written language (*KSIU*, p 47)

110 As regards the origin of the mixed dialect R C Bhandarkar (*IA*, Vol XII, p 146) and Buhler (*EI* Vol I p 377) are of the opinion that it was the result of the efforts of half educated people to express themselves in Sanskrit of which they possessed an insufficient knowledge and which they were not in the habit of using largely *There is no doubt that most of the* Jain and Buddhist inscriptions were composed by the monks

who acted as the spiritual directors of laymen or by their pupils and that they were not in the habit of using Sanskrit largely in their sermons But they cannot be called half educated , on the other hand, some of them were very learned (e g Bala mentioned in the Sarnath inscriptions of the year 3 , *EI*, Vol VIII, pp 177 79)

111 *EI* Vol XXIV pp 210 12

112 *JRAS* 1910 pp 1311 15

113 *EI* Vol II pp 369 70

114 See Appendix IV

115 This was a new type of dress in India See photographs

116 See Chapter 7

117 *ICG* pp 84 86, 216

118 Strabo—*Geography*, *Bk XV*, 18 , *AICL* p 24

119 *Ibid*
NH Bk XVIII C 13 , *AICL* p 127

120 *POES*, 37, pp 36 37

121 Mathura Stone inscription of the year 28 ,
EI Vol XXI, pp 55 61

122 Strabo—*Geography*, *Bk XV* 18 , *AICL* p 24

123 *EI*, Vol XXI pp 55 61

124 Mahavagga VI, 34, 21 , *AIE* p 416

125 Mahavagga VI 34 21 ,
NH Bk XXXI C 7 (39) , *AICL* p 128

126 Strabo—*Geography Bk XV*, 20 , *AICL* p 26
NH, C (17) , *AICL* p 122

127 Mahavagga, VI, 34, 21

128 India was well known for the production of spices see Chapter 9

129 *NH Bk XVIII*, C 10 (22) , *AICL* p 127

130 *GT*, pp 79 81 98

131 *ITAT*, p 6

132 *NH Bk XIV* C 16(19) *AICL* p 126
133 *POES* 49 p 42
134 *OPA* 1 61 vide *ITAT* p 6
135 *ITAT* p 6
136 *ASIAR* 1923 24 p 74
137 See p 216
138 *OPA Bk XV* C XXIV *AICL* p 146
139 *OPA Bk XV* C XV *AICL* p 145
140 *OPA Bk XIII* C XXV *AICL* p 142
They proved very useful in warfare
141 Curtius vide *AIP* p 270
142 *OPA Bk IV* C XXIV *AICL* p 137
143 *Ibid*
144 *ITAT* p 5
145 *NH* XXXII C 2 (II) *AICL* p 128
146 Appendix I Part B Nos 10 and 12
147 See pp 221 225
148 Ara inscription of the year 41 *CII* Vol II Pt I pp 162 65 Mathura Buddhist inscr ption of the year 77 *EI* Vol IX, pp 243ff Shakardarra inscription of the year 40 *EI* Vol XIX pp 207 08
149 Sarnath Buddh st Image and Umbrella post inscriptions of the year 3 *FI* Vol VIII pp 173 81
150 *Bhiksusya Balasya* Sarnath Buddhist Image and Umbrel a post nscr pt on of the year 3 *EI* Vol VIII pp 173 81
151 *Bhikhuni Bt ddhan itra* Kosam inscription of the year 2 *EI*, Vol XXIV pp 210 212
152 *AIE* p 466
153 *Upasika Balanandi* Sue Vihara inscription of the year 11 *CII* Vol II Pt 1 pp 138 41
154 *AIE* p 463
155 *Brhatkalpa Bhasya* 3 4106 ff 1 2443f 2085 vide *LAIJC*, p 106
156 Chullavagga X 1 *AIE* p 463
157 Mathura Buddhist Image inscription of the year 33 *EI* Vol. VIII pp 181 82

158 Kosam inscription of the year 2, *EI*, Vol XXIV, pp 210 212

159 Mathura Buddhist Image inscription of the year 33, *EI*, Vol pp 181-82

160 The Bodhisattva cult flourished under the Kuṣanas The ideal of the Arhat seeking his own salvation was replaced by the ideal of Bodhisattva who sacrificed his salvation for the salva tion of others Once a Teacher, the Buddha became a Saviour and was endowed with god like supernatural aspect Faith in the supernatural power and knowledge of the Buddha destroyed the very illusion of manifestation of the world and also the difference between samsāra (world) and Nirvana (salvation) There was a rapid spread of Buddhism in the form of Mahayāna (A N Zelinsky—The Kuṣanas and Mahayana, *KSIU*, p 156)

161 Sarnath Buddhist Umbrella post inscription of the year 3, *EI*, Vol VIII pp 173 81-

162 *Ibid*

163 *EI*, Vol VIII, p 181

164 *EI*, Vol VIII, p 182 f

165 *EI*, Vol XXIV, pp 210-12

166 *EI*, Vol VIII, pp 173-81.

167 *YB*, p 106

168 *EI* Vol VIII, p 181

169 *CII*, Vol II Pt I, p 155

170 *Ibid*, pp 165 70

171 See p 48

172 See p 84

173 See pp 152, 154

174 See pp 162 63

175 Annual Progress Report of the Supdt Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, 1917 p 7

175a *CBIMA*, pp vii ix

175b *Ibid* p xi

176 *Ibid*, 1919 p 13

177 See p 149

178 See pp 148, 149

179 *EI*, Vol IX, pp 239-41

180 *JRAS*, 1910, pp 1311-15

181 *IA*, Vol XXXIII, pp 102-03, No 13

182 *CAMM* p 88f, No C 13

183 "The Indian Theosophs whom the Greeks call Gymnosophists are divided into two sects Brahmans and Shamans Samanaoei The Brahmans are one family, the descendants of one father and mother and they inherit their theology as a priesthood The Shamans, on the other hand are taken from all Indian sects indifferently from all those who wish to give themselves up to the study of divine things The Brahmans pay no taxes like other citizens, and are subject to no king Of the Philosophers among them some inhabit the mountains others the banks of the Ganges The mountain Brahmans subsist on fruit and cow s milk, curdled with herbs The others live on the fruits of trees which are found in plenty near the river and which afford an almost constant succession of fresh fruits, and, should these fail on the self sown wild rice that grows there To eat any other food or even to touch animal food, they hold to be the height of impiety, uncleanness Each man has his own cabin, and lives as much as he to himself, and spends the day and the greater part of the night in prayers and hymns to the gods And they so dislike society even that of one another, or much discourse, that when either happens, they expiate it by a retirement and silence of many days They fast often

"The Shamans on the other hand, are as I said an elected body Whoever wishes to be enrolled in their order presents himself to the city or village authorities, and there makes cession of all his property He then shaves his head puts on the Shaman robe, and goes to the Shamans and never turns back to speak or look at his wife and children if he has any and never thinks of them any more, but leaves the children to the king and his wife to his relations, who provide them with the necessaries of life The Shamans live outside the city and spend the whole day in discourse upon divine things They have houses and temples of a royal foundation, and in them stewards who receive from the king a certain

allowance of food, bread, and vegetables for each convent. When the convent bell rings, all strangers then in the house withdraw, and the Shamans enter and betake themselves to prayers Prayers ended, at the sound of a second bell, the servants place before each individual for two never sit together, a dish of rice but to anyone who wants variety they give besides either vegetables or fruit As soon as they have done dinner and they hurry over it they go out to their usual occupations They are not allowed to marry or to possess property They and the Brahmans are so honoured by the Indians, that even the king will come to them to solicit their counsel in matters of moment and their intercession with the gods when danger threatens the country

'Both Shamans and the Brahmans have such a notion of death that they impatiently bear with life, and view it but as a necessary though burdensome service imposed upon them by nature They hasten, therefore, to free the soul from the body And often when a man is in good health and no evil whatsoever presses upon him, he will give notice of his intention to quit the world, and his friends will not try to dissuade him from it but rather account him happy and give him messages for their dead relations, so firm and true is the conviction of his people that souls after death have intercourse with one another When he has received all his commissions, he throws himself, so that he may quit the body in all purity, into a burning pile, and dies amidst the hymns of the assembled crowd

AICL, pp 167 69

184 *Brhatkalpa Vyavahāra Nisitha Sutra* 1 50, *Nisitha Bhasya* 10, p 1111 *LAIJC*, p 250

185 *EI*, Vol I, p 378

186 *EI*, Vol II p 201, No XI

187 *EI*, Vol I, pp 387 88, No XI

188 *EI* Vol I p 385, No VI

189 *EI* Vol I p 396 No XXX

190 *EI*, Vol X pp 115-16

191 *EI*, Vol II, pp 201 ff No XXVIII

192 *Ibid*, pp 201 ff, No XXXVI

193 *EI*, Vol I, pp 382 81, No I
194 *EI*, Vol X, p 111
195 *EI*, Vol I, p 384 No V
196 *EI*, Vol X p 112
197 *IA* Vol XXXIII pp 36 37 No V
198 *EI* Vol I, pp 383 84, No IV
199 *EI* Vol I, p 389, No XIV
200 *ASIR*, Vol III p 31 No 4
201 *EI*, Vol X, pp 117-18, No XI
202 *EI* Vol X, pp 109 10
203 *EI* Vol II pp 202 03, No XV
204 *EI* Vol X pp 117 18, No XI
205 *EI*, Vol I, p 395, No XXVIII
206 *EI* Vol I, pp 385 86, No VII
207 *EI*, Vol II, pp 203 04, No XVIII
208 *EI*, Vol I, pp 391-92
209 *EI*, Vol I, p 383, No III
210 *FI*, Vol II, pp 202, No XIII
211 *EI*, Vol II, pp 201 ff, No XXXIX
212 *EI*, Vol II p 205, No XXII
213 *EI*, Vol I 391, No XIX
214 *IA*, Vol XXXIII, p 108, No 23
215 *FI* Vol I, p 382, No II
216 *EI*, Vol I, p 388, No XII
217 *EI*, Vol X, pp 113 14
218 *EI*, Vol I, p 386, No VIII
219 *EI*, Vol II, p 204, No XX
220 *EI*, Vol I, pp 385-86, No VII
221 *EI*, Vol I, p 389, No XIV, p 386, No VIII
222 *EI*, Vol X, p 112
223 *EI*, Vol II, p 204, No XX
224 *IA*, Vol XXXIII pp 40 41
225 *EI*, Vol I, p 383, No III
226. Mathura Saraswati Image inscription of the year 14; *EI*, Vol I, pp 391-92

227 *E*, Vol I p 382 No II

228 *Ibid*, p 388 No XII

229 *Ibid* pp 385 86 No VII

230 *Ibid* pp 381 82, No I

231 *EI*, Vol II p 204, No XXI

232 See pp 84 ff, 154

233 See pp 109, 225 27

234 *HIJ*, pp 41 54

235 See p 222

236 See pp 222 84 ff 154

237 See Chapt IX

238 "There will rule over the land Mlechchha kings These sinful kings, addicted to falsehood, will govern on principles that are false, and they will be given to false controversialism The Andhras, the Śakas, the Pulindas the Yavanas (i e Yaunas), the Kambhojas, the Valhikas the Sura-Abhiras will then be rulers (188 34-35) Then the utterings of the *Vedas* become futile, the Sudras address (Brahmanas) with Bho (term of equality), while Brāhmanas address them with ' Noble Sir ' Citizens will lose character on account of the burden of taxation (46) They become addicted to materialism (this worldism—aihalaukikam) which ministers to their flesh and blood (49) The whole world will be mlechchhanized all rites and sacrifices will cease (190 29) The Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas will disappear, at this time all men will become one caste the whole world will be Mlechchhanized men will no more gratify the celestials with Śrāddha or manes with libations (46) Prohibiting the worship of the celestials, they will worship bones In the settlements of the Brāhmanas, in the Asramas of the great Rishis, in places sacred to gods in sacred spots and in temples which had been dedicated to the Nagas—the land will be marked with tombs (Edukas=Buddhist stūpas containing bones) They will have no temples dedicated to the celestials (65 66 67)' —
Mahābharata, Vana-parvan, Chapters 188, 190, Kumbakonam Text, p 314

239 Mathura Stone Slab inscription of the year 28 *EI*, Vol XXI, pp 55-61.

240 *Sutrālamkāra*, Chap 6, *IA*, Vol XXXII, p 385

241 *Ibid*

242 Sarnath Buddhist Umbrella post inscription of the year 3,
EI Vol VIII, pp 173-81
Sue Vihara Copper- plate inscription of the year 11,
CII, Vol II, Pt I pp 138-41
Mathura Stone inscription of the year 28,
EI Vol XXI pp 55 61
Ara inscription of the year 41,
CII, Vol II Pt I pp 162 65
Wardak Vase inscription of the year 51,
CII, Vol II, Pt I, pp 165 70
Mathura Jain Image inscription of the year 5
ASIR, Vol III, p 20
Mathura Jain Image inscription of the year 20,
EI Vol I pp 383 84

243 Sue Vihara Copper plate inscription of the year 11,
CII Vol II Pt I pp 138 41
Mathura Jain Image inscription of the year 5,
ASIR, Vol III, p 20

KUJULA KADPHISES



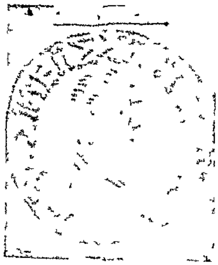
From a coin of Kujula Kadphises
(CBM Pl XXV 5)

AUGUSTUS



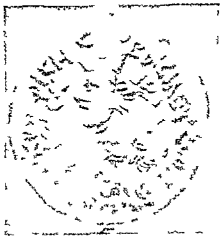
From a coin of Augustus
(EHI Pl IV 2)

HERMAEUS



From a coin of Hermaeus
(CBM, Pl XV 4)

WEMA KADPHISES



From a coin of Wema Kadphises
(Personal collection)

WEMA KADPHISES



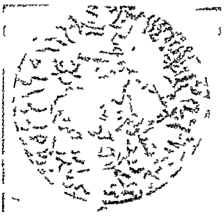
From a coin of Wema Kadphises
(CBM Pl XXV 7)

KANISKA



From a coin of Kaniska
(CBM Pl XXVI 6)

SIVA AND HIS BULL



From a coin of Wema Kadphises
(CBM Pl XXV 7)

ARDOKSHO



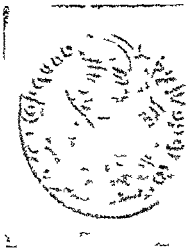
From a coin of Kaniska
(CBM Pl XXVI 6)

KANISKA



From a statue in the Archaeological Museum Mathura

HUVISKA



From a coin of Huviska (CBM Pl XVIII 9)

BODHISATTVA



From a statue of the year 3 in the Archaeological Museum Sarnath

VASUDEVA



From a coin of Vasudeva (Personal collection)

THE FASTING BUDDHA

(A specimen of the Gandhara Art)



(Courtesy Department of Archaeology Pakistan)

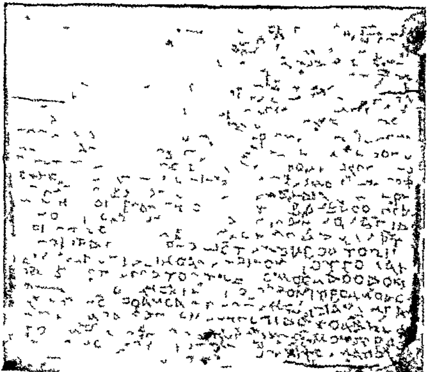
TOILET SCENE

(From an Ivory Box Found at Begram)



(Courtesy Societe Des Amis Du Musee Guimet Paris)

THE SURKH KOTAL INSCRIPTION



(Courtesy, Delegation Archeologique Francaise en Afghanistan, Kabul)

APPENDIX I

A LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS ISSUED DURING THE RULE OF THE EARLY KUṢĀNA KINGS IN THE TERRITORIES DIRECTLY UNDER THEIR CONTROL

PART A — INSCRIPTIONS BEARING DATES IN THE SCYTHO-PARTHIAN OR THE VIKRAMA ERA (Issued before the Reign of Kaniṣka)

PART B — INSCRIPTIONS DATED IN THE ŚAKA ERA OR BEARING NO DATES

(Issued during the Reign of Kaniṣka and His Successors)

Note — The inscriptions of the years 22, 41 42, 45 46 51 52, 72, 81, 83, 86, 87 88 89 and 90 of the Śaka era issued during the reigns of the contemporary semi independent or independent rulers such as Rajan Vaskusāna, Rajan Ksaharata Ksatrapa Na iapāna (or Rajan Mahaksatrapa Svami Nahapāna), Maharaja Bhimasena Rajan Chastana, Rajan Rudradāman, Mahārāja Śri Bhadramagha (or Maharāja Śri-Bhadramegha), Kṣatrapa Tiravharna and Kautsiputra Pothasri are not included in this list, as they make a special mention of the reign of one of those rulers but not that of any Kusana king

The following particulars are given about each inscription —

(a) The date of its issue,

(b) the name of the king in whose rule it was issued

(c) his titles,

(d) its find-spot,

(e) the script in which it is written,

(f) a brief summary of its contents,

(g) references, and

(h) general remarks

PART A

S No	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)
1	122 (1st day of Śrāvana)	Gushana (Kusāna)	Maharaya (Mahārāja)	Panjtar (West Pakistan) (Stone)	Kharoṣṭhī	Gift of two trees The eastern region of (Ka)sua was made an auspicious ground by Moika, the Urumiya scion	EI, Vol XIV, p 134, CII, Vol II, Part I, p 70	122 of Aja (Azes)=65 A D See pp 44 45
2	134 (23rd day of Śravana)	—	—	Kalawan (West Pakistan) (Copper Plate)	,,	Establishment of relics in Chhadasila, in the Chapel stupa, by the female worshipper, Chandrābhi, daughter of Dharma, wife of Bhadrapāla together with her brother the householder Nandivardhana, with her sons Śama and Sachillā, and her daughter Dharma, with her daughter-in-law, Raja and Indra with Jivanandin, the son of Śama, and the teacher, in acceptance of the Sarvastivadins	EI, Vol XXI, pp 251-59	134 (of Vikrama era)=77 A D

3	136 (15th day of Āshīḍha)	Khuṣana (Kuṣāṇa)	Mahārāja (Rajatirāja) Devaputra	Taxila (West Pakistan) (Silver Scroll)	Kharoṣṭhī	Enshrinement of the relics of the Venerable One by Urasaka, the son of Inidafri, a man from Balkh, a resident of the town Noacha, in the Dharmarājika (stūpa) in Takṣaśilā (Taxila), in the Bodhisattva Chapel of Taṇuva, for the bestowal of health on the Great King, the King of Kings, the Son of Heaven, the Khuṣana (Kusaṇa), in honour of all the Buddhas, Arhats and beings, and for the bestowal of health upon him self and for salva tion.	EI, Vol XIV, pp 285-95	136 of Aya (Azes) =79 A D See pp 44-45 Although Kaniṣka came to the throne in the year 136 of the Vikrama era after 15th Āshīdha, the Śaka era which was given this name long after his death follows the system of naming months commencing with the Chaitra month according to the Vikrama era Now-a-days, the first day of the first month, Chaitra, of both the Vikrama era and the Śaka era falls in the month of March of the Christian era

PART B

Notes

1 The year 1 of the inscriptions is equivalent to 79 A D or 136 of the Vikrama era according to the system of chronology adopted in this thesis

2 Only solar days running from 1 to 30 are used

3 In the Brāhmi inscriptions, the names of months are mostly seasonal indicated by the number of month in the season For this purpose, the year is divided into the following three seasons —

A Grīshma or Summer including the months—
- (i) Chaitra,
- (ii) Vaisakha
- (iii) Jyaistha,
- (iv) Āshadha,

B Varsha or Rainy season including the months—
- (i) Śrāvana
- (ii) Bhadra or Bhadon,
- (iii) Asuja or Āsvina
- (iv) Karttika or Kartika

C Hemanta or winter season including the months—
- (i) Agrahayana or Margasirsha,
- (ii) Pausha,
- (iii) Māgha,
- (iv) Phalguna

Thus, the 8th day of the 2nd month of winter means 8th Pausha while the 20th day of the 1st month of summer means 20th Chaitra

4 The first month (Chaitra) of the Śaka era corresponds roughly to the month of March of the Christian era.

5 Some Kharosthi inscriptions are dated in Greek months

1	2 (8th day of the 2nd month of winter)	Kaniska	Mahārāja	Kosam (Ancient Kausāmbi) (Pedestal of a standing figure of a Bodhisattva)	Brāhmī	Erection of an image of a Bodhisattva at the promenade of the Buddha by the Buddhist nun Buddhamitra who knows the Tripiṭaka	EI Vol XXIV, pp 210 12	Year 2=80 A D For Buddhamitra, see also Nos 3 and 47
2	3 (22nd day of the 3rd month of winter)	,,	,,	Sarnath (The front of the *plain pedestal* and the *back* of a standing Bodhisattva image)	,,	Erection of an image of a Bodhisattva and an umbrella with a post—(*the gift*) *of the monk* Bala, the image of the Bodhisattva erected by the Mahākṣatrapa Kharapallana and the Kṣatrapa Vanashpara.	EI, Vol VIII, pp 177-79	—
3	3 (22nd day of the 3rd month of winter)	,,	,,	Sarnath (Umbrella-post of a Bodhisattva image)	,,	Erection *of an image of* a Bodhisattva and an umbrella with a post at *Baransi* (*Varanasi*) at the place where Lord Buddha used to walk, (the gift) of the friar Bala, the companion of the monk Pushyavuddhi, together with his parents,	*EI, Vol VIII*, pp 173-81, No 3a and Plate, EI, Vol IX, p 241 (correction)	*For the friar* Bala see also No 47

S No	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)
						his teachers, his companions and pupils, with Buddhamitra who knows the Tripitaka, with the Ksatrapas (Satraps) Vanaspara and Kharapallana, with the four classes, for the welfare and happiness of all creatures		
4	4 (20th day of the first month of summer)	Name not mentioned	—	Mathura (Jain image)	Brāhmi	Dedication of a Jain image by , the female pupil of Sihmitra (Simhamitra)	EI, Vol II, p 201, IA, Vol XXXIII, p 33	—
5	5 (5th day of the 4th month of summer)	,	—	Mathura (Jain image)	,	Dedication of a Jain image by , the preacher...	EI, Vol II, p 201	—
6	5 (1st day of the 1st month of winter)	Kaniska	Devaputra	Mathura (Jain image)	,,	Dedication of an image of Vardhamana by the daughter of Pala at the request of Khuda (Ksudra) the Sadhachari of Sena, the female pupil of Sethisiha	FI, Vol I pp 381-82, IA, Vol XXXIII, pp 34-36	—

7	5 (12th day of the first month of winter)	Name not mentioned	—	Mathura (*Jain* image)	Brāhmī	Dedication of a Jain image at the request of , for the welfare and happiness of all creatures	IA, Vol XXXIII, No 5, pp 36-37, ASIR, Vol III, p 30, No 2 and plate
8	7 (15th day of the first month of winter)	Kaniṣka	Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Shāhi	Mathura (Jain image)	,,	Dedication of a Jain image by the preacher, the Venerable Sandhika, the pupil of the venerable Buddhasiri, (Buddhasri) and the *Venerable* Jaya (*the* sister of the former)	EI, Vol I, p 391
9	9 (5th day of the 1st month of ——)	,	Maharaja	Mathura (Jain image)	,,	Dedication of a Jain image by	JRAS, 1909, p 465, ASIR, Vol III, p 31,
10	9 (10th day of the 3rd month of winter)	Name not mentioned	—	Lucknow Museum, find-spot not known (Jain image)	,	Gift of Gahapalā, the wife of Ekra-dala, the daughter in law of Savasiri, the daughter of Grahamitra, at the request of the venerable Tarika	EI, Vol X, pp 109-10

S No	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)
11	10 (9th day of the 2nd month of summer)	Kāniska (Kaniska)	Mahārāja Devaputra	British Museum, find-spot not known (image on sculptured slab)	Brāhmī	Gift of a temple to the goddess of the village	EI, Vol. IX, pp 239-41	—
12.	11 (18th day of the month Daisios)	Kaniska	Mahārajā Rajātiraja Devaputra	Sue Vihara, 16 miles south-west of Bahawalpur (West Pakistan) (Copper-plate)	Kharosthī	Raising of the staff by the friar Nagadatta, and the gift of the enclosure and the foundation of the staff by the mistress of the vihāra, the lay-votary, Balanandi and her mother, the matron the wife of Bala	CII, Vol. II, Part I, pp 138-41, IA, Vol X, 1881, pp 324-31	Daisios corresponds to Jyaiṣtha
13.	11 (20th day of the month of Āshāḍha, uttaraphālguna naksatra)	,,	Marjhaka	Zeda (near Und, West Pakistan) (On an unshapen piece of rock)	,	Digging of a well during the reign of Kaniska Gift of a water-giver by Hippea Dhia in honour of the Ksatrapa Liaka	CII, Vol II, Part I, pp 142-45, EI, Vol XX, pp 1 ff	—

14	12 (11th day of the 4th month of the rainy season)	Name not mentioned	—	Lucknow Museum find-spot not known (Jain image)	Brahmi	Setting up of a Jain image by lay-hearers belonging to the caste of carpenters Harinandi the female pupil of Pusila	EI, Vol X, p III	—
15	14 (10th day of the 4th month of winter)	,,	—	Mathura (Base of an image of Sarasvati)	,,	Dedication of a statue of Sarasvati, the gift of the Smith Gova, son of Siha, at the instance of the preacher Aryya Deva	EI, Vol I, pp 391 92,	V V Mirashi read the date as 54, vide EI, Vol XXIV, 1941-42, pp 294-97, but his arguments are not convincing
16	15 (1st day of the 3rd month of winter)	,,	—	Mathura (Pedestal of a quadruple image of standing naked Jinas)	,,	Dedication of a quadruple image of standing naked Jinas by Kumaramita, first wife of alderman (Śresthin) Veni, mother of Bhaṭṭisena, at the request of the venerable Vasula, the female pupil of the venerable Sangamikā, the female pupil of the venerable Jayabhuti	EI, Vol I, p 382, No II	For Vasula and Sangamikā, see also No 96

S No	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)
16A	15	Name not mentioned	—	Loyang (China)	Kharosthī	Dedication of a monastery	BSOAS, Vol XXIV, 1961, pp 517-30	The original location is not certain
17	16 (—)	,,		Patna Museum (Stone)	Brahmi	Installation of an image of the Buddha by Pravarika, Śrisena, son of Vayusena	JRASB, Vol XIV, 1948, pp 117-20	—
18	18 (20th day of the month of Karttika)	Kaneska (Kaniṣka)	Mahārajī	Manikiala or Manikyala (West Pakistan) (Massive stone)	Kharosthi	Establishment of several relics of the Lord Buddha by Lala, the scion of the Gushana (Kuṣana) race the donation master of the Ksatrapa Vespasi, in his vihara (monastery) Association of Burita the repairing architect, Svarabuddhi and Veśpaśi in this work	CII, Vol II, Part I, pp 145 50, JRAS, 1909, pp 645 66, JRAS, 1914, pp 641 60	—
19	18 (in the month of Artemisios when 10 days had appeared)	Name not mentioned	—	Afghanistan, find-spot not known (Bone lid)	,,	Enshrinement of the relics of the Śramaṇa Gotama	CII, Vol II, Part I, pp 151-52	Artemisios corresponds to Vaiśakha

20.	18 (3rd day of the 4th month of summer)	,,	—	Mathura (Base of a Jain image)	Brāhmī	Dedication of a quadruple Jain image by Masigi, mother of Jaya-, at the request of———	EI, Vol II, p 202, No XIII	—
21.	18 (11th day of the 2nd month of the rainy season)	,	—	Mathura (Base of a Jain image)	,,	Dedication of a Jain image by Mita siri (Mitrasrī), the daughter of Arithanemi (Aristanemi)	EI, Vol II, p 202, No XIV.	—
22	19 (10th day of the 4th month of the rainy season)	,,	—	Mathura (Pedestal of a four-faced image consisting of four standing naked Jinas)	,,	Dedication of the Jain image of Santi by the wife of Suchila, at the request of the preacher, the venerable Matrdina (Mātrdatta), the pupil of the preacher, the venerable Baladina (Baladatta)	EI, Vol I, p 383, No III	—
23.	20 (20th day of the month Avadunaka)	,,	—	Kurram (Pakistan), original find-spot	Kharoshthī	Establishment of a relic of the Lord Śākyamuni by Svedaverma the son of Yasa, in his own grove, in the new vihāra	CII, Vol II, Part I, p 155	Avadunaka corresponds to December

S No	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)
				not known (Casket)		(monastery) in a stupa Explanation of the Pratitya samutpada (dependently co ordinated-origination)—the origin of the whole aggregate of suffering, The Pratitya samutpada written by Mahiphali		
24	20 (17th day of the 3rd month of winter)	Name not mentioned	—	Mathura (Pedestal of a large standing naked Jina)	Brāhmi	Dedication of a large Jain image by Mittra, the wife of Haggudeva (Phalgudeva), the daughter-in law of the iron-monger Vadhara , at the request of the venerable Siha (Simha)	EI, Vol I, pp 383 84, No IV	
25	20 (15th day of the first month of summer) —	,	—	Mathura (Base of a standing Jina)	,	Dedication of an image of Vardhamana by the female lay-hearer Dinna the house wife of Matila, the mother of Jayavala), at the request of the preacher Aryya Sanghasiha (Arya-Sanghasimha)	EI, Vol I, p 395	

26	20 (—day of the 4th month of winter)	Kaniska (Kaniska)	Mahārāja	Mathura (Buddhist image)	Brāhmī	Setting up of a Bodhisattva image	JRAS, 1924, pp 399-400	—
27	22 (—day of the 1st month of summer)	Name not mentioned	—	Mathura (Base of a seated Jina)	,,	Dedication of a Jain image by Dharmmasoma, the wife of a caravan-leader, at the request of *the venerable Matṛdina* (Matrdatta)	EI, Vol I, p 395	For Mātrdina, see also No 22
28.	22 (7th day of the 2nd month of summer)	,,	—	Mathura (Base of a seated Jina)	,,	Dedication of a statue of Vardhamāna	EI, Vol I, p 391	—
29.	Date not clear	Kaneṣka (Kaniska)	Mahārāja	Purushapura (Shah-ji-ki Dheri Stupa casket)	Kharosthi	The religious gift in Kaniṣka's monastery in Mahasena's Samgharāma The architect was Agiśala	CII Vol II, Pt I, Pl XXV, pp 135-37, JRAS 1909, pp 1056 61	Konow's reading of the date as the year 1 is extremely doubtful
30	,,	Kaniska	Titles not clear	Mora now Curzon Museum, Mathura (Pedestal of	Brahmi	Fragment Records the setting up of an image Mentions Kalavada, *the* the Māthuri (inhabitant	EI, Vol XXIV, 1937-38, pp 200-201,	Vogel wrongly read the name of the king as

S No	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)
				a standing figure)		of Mathura)	EI, Vol X, Append, p 163	Huviska (CAMM) p 109, No E 120)
31	Date no clear	Kaniska or Huviska, most probably Kaniska	Mahāraja Devaputra	Saheth Maheth (Pedestal of a large standing Boddhisattva image)	Brāhmi	The gift of an image of a Bodhisattva, an umbrella and a stick	EI, Vol VIII p 181	—
32	,,	,	,	Saheth Maheth (Umbrella staff of a Buddhist image)	,	,,	EI, Vol IX IX, pp 290-291	—
33	Date not mentioned	Kaniska	Mahāraja	Mat (Mathura) (Image)	,,	Dedication of an image	ASIR Vol III, p 31 No 51	—
34	24 (30th day of the 4th month of summer)	Vasiska	Mahāraja Rajatirāja Devaputra Shahi	Isapur now Curzon Museum, Mathura (Column)	,,	Setting up of a sacrificial post (yupa) by the Brahman Dronala, the son of Rudrila, of the Bharadvaja gotra	JRAS, 1910 pp 1311-15, EI, Vol II, p 369	

35	25 (20th day of the 3rd month of winter)	Name not mentioned	—	Mathura (Pedestal of a small Jain statue)	,,	Dedication of a Jain image by the wife of a dyer, at the request of the female pupil of Sadhi, pupil of the venerable Balatrata.	EI, Vol I, p 384, No V, IA, Vol XXXIII, p 38	—
36.	26 —	—	—	Mathura (Sand-stone slab)	,,	Repair of a stupa by Vasuska (Vasiska)	ASIAR, 1911-12, p 132.	—
37.	28 (1st day of Gurpiaios)	Name of the king not mentioned, but blessings invoked for Devaputra Shahi Huviska, showing that he was serving in some responsible position	—	Mathura (Stone-slab)	,,	Endowment for the meritorious rest-house (Punyasalā) by the lord of Vakan (Wakhan) and Kharasalera for feeding the Brahmans and the destitute people The endowment was entrusted to two guilds, one of which was that of flour-makers.	EI, Vol XXI, pp 55 61, EI, Vol VIII, p. 181	The date falls in Bhādrapada or August For Vakanapati, see also Nos 82 and 83

S No	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)
		and was probably the eldest son of Vasıska						
38	28 (5th day of the 1st month of winter)	Vasuska (Vasıska)	Maharaja Rajatirāja Devaputra Shahı	Sanchı (Buddhist statue)	Brahmı	Fragment Erection of a Buddhist statue in the Dharmadeva Vihara (mo nastery) by Madhurika daughter of Khara	EI, Vol II pp 369 70, EI, Vol IX, pp 244 ff	The date falls in Margasırsa or Novem ber
39	28 (in the month of Apellaios when 10 days had appeared)	Name not mentioned	—	Hidda	Kharos thı	Deposit of a Bodhisattva relic in a stupa in the king s grove by the archi tect Samghamitra Prayer for the equipment for nirvaṇa for all beings and for a principal share for the king	CII Vol II Part I p 158, JRAS 1915, pp 91 96	Hidda was 5 miles to the south of *Jalalabad* The date falls in November
40	28 (—day of the 3rd month of winter)	—shka, name not clear Vasıska or Huviska)	Titles not clear	Mathura (Buddhist image)	Brahmı	A fragment Only date preserved	IA Vol VI, p 217 No *I* FI, *Vol* XXI, p 58	—

41	29 (30th day of 2nd month of winter)	(Huvi)ṣka	*Mahārāja*	*Mathura* (Base of a large statue)	*Brāhmi*	Setting up of an image of Vardhamana by Bodhinadi (Bodhinandi) at the request of Gahaprakiva, pupil of the venerable *Data*	EI, Vol I, p 385	
42	29 (—)	Huksha (Huviṣka)	Mahārāja Devaputra	Mathura	,,	A fragment Names of Mahāraja Devaputra Huksha *and of a monk Naga*datta given	EI, Vol II, p 206	—
43	31 (20th day of)	Huviska	Titles not *clear*	Ral Bha*dar, now* Curzon Museum, Mathura	,	A fragment Dedication *of a Buddhist image* Gift of Khuda (Ksudrā) and , the female pupil (antevasini) of Dinn i (Datta)	CAMM, *p 65,* No A 71 LBI, p 162, No 13 a	Ral Bhadar *is 8 miles* north west of Mathura
44	31 (10th day of the 1st month of the rainy season)	Name not mentioned	—	Mathura (Base of a small squatted Jina)	,,	Dedication of a Jain image by Grahaśiri (Grahasrī), daughter of Buddhi, wife of Devila, at the request of (Go) dāsa	EI, Vol II, p, 202, No XV	—

S No	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)
45	31+	Kaniṣka	Maezomo Badoshao	Surkh Kotal (Ancient Bagolango)	Greek	Repair of Kaniṣka's sanctuary by his devoted official, Nokonzoko in the year 31, and the construction of an aqueduct Inscription recorded by Mihrāmān and Burzmihrpuhr	BSOAS, Vol XXIII, Pt 1,1960, pp, 47-55, JA, CC XLVI, 4, 1958, 345-440.	Maezomo corresponds to Kaiser
46	32 (2nd day of the 4th month of winter)	Name not mentioned	—	Mathura (Base of a quadruple image of four standing naked Jinas)	Brahmī	Dedication of a four-fold image of the Arhat by Jitamitrā, daughter of Ritunandi, wife of Buddhi and mother of a perfumer.	EI, Vol II, p 203.	—
47	33 (8th day of the 1st month of summer)	Huviṣka	Mahārāja Devaputra	Mathura (Buddhist image)	,,	Setting up of a Bodhisattva image at Madhuravanaka by the nun Dhanavati, the sister's daughter of the nun Buddhamitra who knows the Tripitaka, a female pupil of the monk Bala	EI Vol. VIII, pp 181-82, IA, Vol XXIII, pp 39 ff	For Buddhamitra, see also Nos. 1 and 3 For Bala see also No 3
48.	35 (10th day of the 3rd	Name not mentioned	—	Mathura (Pedestal of a	,,	Dedication of an image of Vardhamāna by Kumārabhati, a dealer	EI, Vol I, pp 385 86, No. VII	—

	month of the rainy season)			seated Jina)		in perfumes, at the request of Kumāramitra, the female pupil of the venerable Baladina (Bali datta)		
49	35 (— day of the month of winter)	Huveska (Huviṣka)	Maharaja Devaputra	Lucknow (Now Mathura Museum)	,	A fragment Only date preserved	LBI, p 175 No 151 a CAMM, p 62, No A-63	—
50	38 (—day of the— month of winter)	Huvaska (Huviska)	Mahārāja Devaputra	Mathura (Jain elephant capital)	,,	setting up of (the elephant) Nandiviśāla by the banker Arya-Rudra dasa for the worship of the Arhamtas	IA, Vol XXXIII, pp 40 41, ASIR, Vol III, p 32, No 9	—
51	40 (—)	Huviska	Mahārāja Rajatirāja	Chhargaon now Curzon Museum, Mathura (Nāga image)	,,	Erection of the Naga image at their own tank by two friends, Senahasti and Bhonuka (Bhondaka)	CAMM, p 88, No C 13, LBI, p 175, No 149b	—

S No	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)
52	40 (20th day of the month Praushthapada)	Name not mentioned	—	Shakar darra, near Campbell-pur (West Pakistan)	Kharosthi	Digging of a well at the Sala ferry—the gift of the ferry—village companions.	CII, Vol II, Part I, pp 159-60 EI, Vol XIX, p 208	—
53	40 (20th day of the month Praustha-pada)	,,	—	Rawal, near Mathura	,,	A clumsy copy of the Shakardarra record (Supra No 52) not a genuine record, a forgery	CII, Vol II, Pt I, pp 161-62, EI, Vol. I, pp 387-88, EI, Vol XIX, p 208	—
54	40 (10th day of the —month of winter)	,,	—	Mathura (quadruple image consisting of four erect naked standing Jinas)	Brahmī	Dedication of a stone pillar by Sihadata (Simhadatta) the wife of the village Head-man, Jayanaga, the daughter-in law of the village Head-man Jayadeva, at the request of Alaka the female pupil of Nandā—	EI, Vol I, pp 387-88	—
55	41 (25th day of the month Jyaistha)	Kaniska	Mahārāja Rajatirāja Devaputra Kisara	Ara, near Attock (West Pakistan)	Kharosthī	Digging of a well by Dashavhara of the Peshawarian scions in honour of mother and father	CII Vol II, Part I pp 162 65, EI, Vol XIV, pp	

			(Kaisar, Caesar), Vajheṣkaputra)	(Small piece of stone, rough and uneven)		for the welfare of himself with his wife and son for the welfare of all beings	130-43, IA, 1913, pp 132-37	—
56	42 (—)	Name not clear	Titles not clear	Curzon Museum ? Mathura (Male figure, Indo Scythian dress, found in a garden near Mathura)	Brāhmī	Too obliterated to be deciphered Date appears to be 42	CAMM, p 110, No E 25	—
57.	45 (15th day of the 3rd month of the rainy season)	Huviṣka	Mahāraja Devaputra	Mathura (Buddhist image)	,,	Installation of an image of Bhagavat Śakyamuni in the Rosika-vihāra at Ālikī by the female lay-worshipper Khvasichī for the gift of health for herself and for the welfare and happiness of her parents, her mistress, of the mother of Śamanikā, Śamanika, of Jivaka, of the mother of Jīvaka and of all creatures	JBBRAS, Vol XX, pp 269-302	—

S No	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)
58	45 (17th day of the 3rd month of the rainy season)	Name not mentioned	—	Mathura (Pedestal of a small squatted Jina)	Brahmi	Dedication of a Jain image by the daughter in law of Buddhi	EI Vol I p 387 No X	—
59	47 (20th day of the 2nd month of summer)		—	Mathura (Base of a Jina)		Dedication of a Jain image by the daughter in law of the lay hearer Pusha (Pushya) at the request of Sena	EI Vol I p 396 ASIR Vol III 1871 72 p 33 No 10	—
60	47 (5th day of the 3rd month of summer)		—	Mathura (Base of a pillar)		Ded cation (of the base of a pillar) by the men dicant Dharmadeva	ASIR Vol III 1871 72 p 33 No 11	
61	47 (4th day of the 4th month of summer)	Name not mentioned with the date but the name of Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra	—	Mathura (Base of the pillar 25)		Dedication by the monk Jivaka the Odiyanaka (native of Udiyana) to the vihara (monastery) of Maharaja Devaputra Huviska	IA Vol XXXIII p 101 No II ASIR Vol III 1871 72 p 33 No 12 EI Vol IX pp 243 ff	For the monastery of Huviska see also No 72

		Huviska occurs in the text in connection with his vihara (monastery)						
62	47 (25th day of the 4th month of summer)	Name not mentioned	—	Mathura (Base of a pillar)	Brahmi	Dedication by friar Buddhisreshtha	CAMM, pp 175-76, No P. 20	—
63.	47 (29th day of the 4th month of summer)	,,	—	Mathura (Base of a pillar)	,,	Dedication by Devila, the servant (or priest) at the shrine of Dadhi karna	IA, Vol XXXIII, pp 102-03, No 13, ASIR, Vol III, 1871 72, p 34, No 13	—
64	47 (11th day of the 1st month of the rainy sea son)	,,	—	Mathura (Pillar)	,,	Dedication of the pillar 126	CAMM, p 179, No P 35 ASIR Vol III, 1871 72 p 34, No 14	—

S No	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)
65	47 (5th day of the— month of the rainy season)		—	Mathura (Base of a pillar)	Brahmi	Dedication (of the base a pillar) by the mendicant Dharmadeva	IA Vol XXXIII p 101 No 12	For Dharmadeva, see also No 60
66	48 (17th day of the 2nd month of the rainy season)	Huvekṣa (Huviska)	Mahāraja	Lucknow Museum find spot not known (Image of Sambhava nath)	,	Setting up of an image of Sambhava (nath) by Yasa the grand daughter of Śavatrana the daughter in law of Budhuka at the request of Dhujasiri (Dhujasri)	EI, Vol X, p 112, and Appendix, p 165, No 45 a JRAS, 1912, pp 158-59	—
67	48 (5th day of the 4th month of winter)	Huviṣka	Maharaja	Mathura (Stone)		A fragment Mentions the Bramadasika (Brahmadasika) Kula and Uchenagari Śakha	ASIR, Vol III, 1871-72 p 34, No 15 IA, Vol XXXIII, p 103, No 14	—
68	50 (—— month of winter)	,	Mahārāja Devaputra	Mathura (Buddhist image)	,,	A fragment Nothing beyond the date known	IA, Vol VI, p 219, No 11	—
69	50 (2nd day of the 3rd month of winter)	,,	,,	Mathura (Pedestal of a Jain image)	,,	A fragment Nothing beyond the date known	CAMM, p 74, No B 29	—

70.	50 (—of the first month of winter)	*Name not mentioned*	—	Mathura (*Base of a large squatted Jina*)	,,	A fragment. Dedication of a *Jain image*.	EI, Vol. II, p. 203, No. XVII.	
71.	51 (in the month of Artemesios when 15 had appeared)	Name not mentioned with date, *but prayers* invoked for Mahārāja Rājātirāja Huviṣka	—	Wardak, 30 miles to the West of *Kabul* (Vase)	Kharoṣṭhī	Establishment of the relic of Lord Śākyamuni in a stūpa in the Vagramarega *Vihara* by *Kamagulya* scion Vagramarega. Prayer for the *principal* lot of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Huviska, for the honour of his mother, father and other relatives and friends and for the health of all beings. *The Vihāra* was the acceptance of the Mahāsamghika *teachers*.	CII, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 165-70; *EI, Vol. X*, pp. 112-13,	Artemisios corresponds to April.
72.	51(—day of the 1st month of winter)	Huvaṣka (Huviṣka)	Mahārāja Devaputra	Mathura (Buddhist image)	Brāhmī	Setting up of the image of Ṣākya-(muni), the gift of bhikshu Budhavarman, in the vihāra (monastry) of the Mahāraja Devaputra	EI, Vol. X. pp. 112-13	For the vihāra of Maharaja Devaputra Huviska, see also No. 61.

S No	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)
73	52 (25th day of the 3rd month of the rainy season)	Name not mentioned	—	Mathura (Naga statue)	,,	A fragment	CAMM, p 91 No C 21	—
74	52 (25th day of the 1st month of winter)	,	—	Mathura (Base of a Jain image)		Dedication of a Jain image by Gottika the worker in metals (smith) at the request of the preacher, Arya Divita	EI, Vol II, pp 203-04, No XVIII	—
75	58 (2nd day of the 3rd month of summer)	Huvaksa (Huviska)	Śra (sa)—tam most illustrious Mahāraja	Mathura Pedestal of a large seated Jina)	,,	Dedication of a Jain image at the request of Nagasena, pupil of the preacher Haginadi (Bhaganandi)	EI, Vol X pp 113-24	In the EI, Vol I, p 387, No IX and Vol II, p 212 note, the date is wrongly given as 44, EI, Vol X App, p 165, No 42
76	60 (10th day of the 4th month	Huvaska (Huviska)	Maharaja Devaputra	Mathura (Jain image)	,,	Dedication of an image of Rishabha by Datta, wife of Ka pesaka at the	EI, Vol I, p 386, No VIII,	The date is sometimes incorrectly

	of winter)					request of Kharnna, pupil of the venerable Virddhahasti	correction by Buhler in EI, Vol II, p 204 note 61, IA, Vol XXXIII, p 105, No 18	read as 40 For Vriddhahasti see also No 90 Rishabha was the first Tirthamkara of the Jains
77	61 (8th day of the month Chaitra)	Name not mentioned	—	Und, 15 miles above Attock (West Pakistan)	Kharosthī	Digging of a well of the Saviras in Purvāshādha	CII, Vol II, Part I, pp 170-71	—
78	62 (5th day of the 2nd month of the rainy season)	,,	—	Mathura (Upper part of a the base of a sitting Jina)	Brāhmi	Dedication of a Jain image at the request of Grahabala the pupil of the preacher, the venerable Karkuhastha (Kakaśagharshuta)	EI, Vol II, p 204 No XIX	—
79	62 (—)	,,	—	Mathura (Jain image)	,,	,,	IA, Vol XXXIII, pp 105 06, ASIR, Vol XX, p 37	Identical with No 78

S No	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)
80	Date not clear	Huksa (Huviska)	Maharaja Devaputra	Mathura (Jain image)	Brahmi	A fragment Mentions a pupil of Nagadatta	IA Vol XXIII, p 38	—
81	—	Huviska	Devaputra	Mathura (Base of a standing Jina)	,,	A fragment	EI Vol II p 206, No XXV	—
82	—	—	—	Mat 9 miles north of Mathura (Royal statue)	,,	Mentions the name of Vama Takshama (Wema Kadphises) with the titles Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra Kusānaputra Shahi Records the construction of a gallery of royal portraits (devakula) a garden (ārama) a tank (pushkarini) and a well (udapana) by Huma— the lord of Bakan (Wakhan)	ASIAR, 1911-12 pp 120 ff	For the lord of Vakan (Wakhan), see also Nos 37 and 83
83	—	—	—	Mat (Base of a royal statue)	,,	Repair of the devakula (the gallery of royal portraits) of the grand father of Mahārāja Rājatiraja Devaputra Huviska by an official designated Bakanapati son of Mahadaṇdanayaka	JRAS, 1924, pp. 401-03	For Bakanapati (lord of Wakhan), see also Nos 37 and 82

						Masha for the increase of the life and strength of Huviṣka Endowment for the daily guests and Brahmanas		
84	—	—	—	Mat (Statue of Kaniṣka)	Brahmi	Records the name of Kaniska with his titles Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra	ASIAR, 1911-12 p 123	—
85.	—	—	—	Mat (Statue of Chashṭana)	,,	Records the name of Saśtana (Chashtana)	ASIAR, 1911-12, pp 120 ff, JBBORS, Vol V, 1919, p 511	—
86	64 (-day of the 2nd month of the rainy season)	Vasudeva	Titles not clear	Palikhera, Mathura, preserved in the local Museum (Buddhist image)	,,	Setting up of an image of Śakyamuni and the construction of a shrine for the image by Guhasena	IAG, p 27, EI, Vol XXX, Part V, pp 181 84	—

S No	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)
87	71 (15th day of the 1st month of the rainy season)	Name not mentioned	—	Mathura (Jain image)	Brahmi	A fragment	EI, Vol X p 115	—
88	74 (30th day of the 1st month of the rainy season)	Vasu(deva)	Mahāraja Rajatiraja Devaputra	Mathura (Stone slab)	,	A fragment Mentions the great general (Mahadandanayaka) Valina	EI Vol IX, pp 241 46	—
89	74 (5th day of the 1st month of summer)	Name not mentioned	—	Ramnagar (Jain image)	,	Gift of Dharavala wife of—— at the request of Ayadasi (Aryadasi) female pupil who obeys the command of Gahavala	EI Vol X pp 115 16	—
90	79 (20th day of the 4th month of the rainy season)	Name not mentioned	—	Mathura (Base of a large standing figure of Jina)	,	Dedication of the Jain image of the Arhat Nandiavarta (Nandyavarta) by the female lay disciple Dina on the advice of Virddhahasti	EI Vol II p 204 No XX	—

91	80 (12th day of the first month of the rainy season)	Vasudeva	Maharaja	Mathura (Base of a seated Jina)	Brahmi	A fragment mentions the daughter of—— the daughter in law of Sam ghanadhi, —of Bala	EI, Vol X, pp 116 17 EI, Vol 1 p 392	—
92	81 (6th day of the 1st month of the rainy season)	Name not mentioned	—	Mathura (Base of a seated figure)	,,	Dedication of a Jain image at the request of Datā, female pupil of Ayikā Jiva (Arjikā Jiva)	EI, Vol II p 204 No XXI	—
93	83 (16th day of the 2nd month of summer)	Vasudeva	Mahārāja	Mathura (Jain image)	,,	Dedication of a Jain image by Jinadasi, daughter of Sena daughter in law of Datta, the wife of the perfumer Vya cha	CAMM, p 66 No B2 IA, Vol XXXIII p 107, No 21, ASIR, Vol III, p 34, No, 16	—
94	83 (25th day of the 2nd month of summer)	Name not mentioned	—	Mathura (A seated image of Jina)	,,	A fragment Nothing except the date read	CAMM, p 66, No B3	—

S. No.	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)
95.	84 (5th day of the 2nd month of summer)	Vāsudeva	Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Shāhi	Bala-bhadra Kund, now Curzon Museum, (Jain image)	Brāhmī	Setting up of an image of the Lord (Bhagavat) Arhat Rishabha by the daughter-in-law of Bhata-datta Ugabhinaka.	CAMM, p. 67, No. B 4; JPASB (NS), Vol. V, p. 276 f.	—
96.	86 (12th day of the first month of winter)	Name not mentioned	—	Mathura (Pedestal of a small seated Jina)	,,	Dedication of a Jain image by the daughter of Dasa (Dāsa), wife of Priya, at the request of the venerable Vasulā, pupil of the venerable Sangamikā out of the (Mehi)ka Kula.	EI, Vol. I, p 388, No. XII.	For Vasulā and Sanga-mikā, see also No. 16.
97.	87 (30th day of the 2nd month of winter)	Vāsudeva	Mahārāja Rājātirāja Shāhi	Mathura (Jain image)	,,	A fragment. Nothing be-yond the date made out.	ASIR, Vol. III, p. 35, No. 18 ; IA, Vol. XXXIII, p. 108, No. 22.	—
98.	87 (20th day of the 1st month of summer)	Name not mentioned	—	Mathura (Pedestal of a small squatted Jina)	,,	Dedication of a Jain image by Mitra, pupil of the venerable Kumāra-nandi,	EI, Vol I, pp 388-89, No XIII.	—

99	89 (the 5th day of Mārgaśiras)	Name not mentioned	—	Mamāne Dheri, Peshawar District (Pedestal)	Kharosthi	A religious gift by the Śramana Dharmapriya in honour of his teacher Buddhapriya for the bestowal of health on his fellow disciples	CII, Vol II Part I p 171 EI Vol XXII, pp 14 15	—
100	90 (—of the rainy season)	Name not mentioned	—	Mathura (Jain image)	Brahmi	Dedication of a Jain image by the daughter in-law of Dina, at the re quest of	CAMM p 68, No B 5, ASIR, Vol III, p 33 EI, Vol II, p 205	—
101.	93 (— month of the rainy season)	Name not mentioned	—	Mathura (Jain image)	,,	Setting up of an image of Divine Vardhamana by the daughter of the goldsmith Deva	EI Vol II, p 205 No XXIII	—
102.	98 (11th day of the 4th month of the rainy season)	Vasudeva	Rajan	Mathura (Jain image)	,,	Invocation of the Arhat Mahavira Dedication of the image by the daughter of Pravaraka the daughter-in law of the perfumer Varuna, at the request of the venerable Devadata (Devadatta)	IA, Vol XXXIII, p 108, No 23	—

S No	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)
103	98 (5th day of the 1st month of winter)	Name not mentioned	—	Mathura (Base of a squatted Jina)	Brāhmī	A fragment Dedication of a Jain image by of the Kottiya ganā, Uchanagari (Uchchenagri) śakha	EI, Vol. II, p 205	—
104.	—	Va(su)	Mahāraja	Curzon Museum Mathura (Buddhist image)	,,	A fragment, mentions the daughter-in-law of—	CAMM, p 122, No G 38	—
105	99 (16th day of the 2nd month of summer)	Name not mentioned	—	Mathura (Bas relief)	,,	Dedication of a Jain image at the request of the female pupil Dhamasiri (Dhamasri), the female pupil of Aryyasura (Arya Sura)——(the gift) of—, the daughter of Grahadata	EI, Vol X, pp 117-118	—
106	Date not clear	—	—	Mathura (Large sandstone slab)	,,	Setting up of a stone-slab sacred to the divine lord of the snakes, Dadhikarnna by the boys, chief among whom was Nandibala, the sons of the actors of Mathura	EI, Vol I p 390	—

107	Date not clear	--	—	Mathura (Buddhist image)	,	Setting up of an image of Bodhisattva	EI, Vol X, p 109	—
108	—	—	—	Mathura (Pedestal of a small seated Jina)	,,	Dedication of an image of Usabha (Rishabha) by Gulhā daughter of Varma, wife of Jayadasa, at the request of S ima, the pupil of the venerable Jeshtahasti (Jyeshtha hastin)	EI, Vol I, p 389 No XIV	—
109.	—	—	—	Peshawar Museum, No 21, find spot not known	Kharoṣṭhī	Causing a well to be dug by the Brahman Vasudeva, the son of Indradeva, a resident of Obhara	CII, Vol II, Part I, pp 155-57	—
110	—	—	—	Mathura (Bodhisattva image)	Brahmī	Gift of a Bodhisattva image by the householder Nagadina (Nagadatta)	MASI, No 6, 1950, pp 100 101	—
111	—	—	—	Manikiala (West Pakistan) (Bronze casket lid)	Kharoṣṭhī	Gift of the Kapiśa Ksatrapa, the son of Kshatrapi G (r) anavhryaka	CII, Vol, II, Part I, pp 150-51	Within the casket, a gold coin of Huviska was found

S No	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)
112	—	—	—	Manikiala (West *Pakistan*) (Silver disk)	Kharosthi	Gift of the architect Gomana	*CII, Vol II*, Part I, p 151	
113.	—	—	—	Mohen-jodaro (West Pakistan (Fragments *of pottery*)	,,	Fragments Characters seem to belong to the time of Kaniska or of his successors	CII, Vol II, Part I, p 173	
114	—	—	—	Tor Therai (West *Pakistan*) (Potsherds)	,,	The religious gift of a water hall by Yola Mira Shahi in the Yola Mira Shahi Vihara (monastery) in the acceptance of the Sarvāstivadin teachers	CII, Vol II, Part I pp 173-76	Yola Mira probably Kusana governor

APPENDIX II

Re Examination of Ghirshman's Theory about the Date of Kaniska[1]

Ghirshman gives the following dates for Kaniska and his successors

Kaniska	A D	144—173[2] or 144—172[3]
Huviska	A D	172—217[4] ?
Vasudeva	A D	217—241[5]

He thinks that the dynasty was destroyed by Shapur I in 241 A D[6] He advances the following arguments in favour of his theory —

1 He identifies both the Yue chi king Po tiao who sent an embassy to China in A D 230 and the Kusana ruler called by the Armenian chronicler Moses of Khorene 'Vehsadjan' who fought Khosroes of Armenia against Ardashir in A D 227[8] with Vasudeva[9] who reigned up to the year 98 of the Kaniska era[10] He therefore, places the date of Kaniska's accession to the throne between A D 143/44 and 154, as according to him Kaniska's dynasty was destroyed by Shapur I between A D 241/42 and 252[11]

2 He finds support for his views in the theory advocated by Dikshit that all the Kusānas used the Vikrama era with the hundreds omitted In other words, Kaniska came to the throne in 201 Vikrama samvat, i e, 144 A D[12]

3. *According to Ghirshman, the Sassanian king,* Ardashir, who ruled from A D 226 to 241 considered the Kusāṇa empire as a political menace and an economic emarbrassment for Iran on the eastern frontiers[13], he conquered Bactria—a mention of his conquest of that territory is made by Tabari in a passage and seems to be confirmed by the discoveries made by the French Archaeological Mission at Surkh Kotal where ruins of a sanctuary and coins of the Kusāṇa kings Kaniska and Huviska, but not of Vasudeva, were found[14]

But, in an inscription sculptured on the walls of the Kaba-i Zardusht at Naqsh i Rustam, Shapur I claims that his victorious army seized 'Pskbvr' which Ghirshman claims to be equivalent to Peshawar (the winter capital of the Kusana kings) Ghirshman infers that the Kusana dynasty founded by Kaniṣka was deposed

by Shapur I and replaced by another line of princes who recognised the suzerainty of the Persians

Ghirshman adduces archaeological evidence from Begram to show that the empire of Vāsudeva was destroyed by Shapur I between A D 241 and 252, the latest coins which he discovered there were those of Vasudeva I, they were found in the second stratum [15] He cites similar evidence from the ruins at Kobadian IV, Tali-Barzou, Qala i-Mir and Airtam-Termez [16]

4 Ghirshman is of the opinion that Kaniska's expedition against Parthia could have taken place during the reign of Vologases III and that it might have been caused by a Parthian attempt to recover one of the Iranian provinces annexed by the Kuṣānas [17]

The arguments given by Ghirshman are open to serious objections

1. He has not been able to reconcile the account given by Tabari with the version given in the Kaba-i-Zardusht inscription as to the identity of the Sassanian king—Ardashir I or Shapur I who was responsible for the destruction of the Kusana empire

2 The theory of omitted hundreds which he favours has been used by various historians to advocate different dates and cannot be relied upon [18]

3 The archaeological evidence which he advances is untenable as it merely shows that Begram and some other Kusana sites might have been abandoned during the closing years or immediately after the reign of Vasudeva I, but it does not prove that they were destroyed by Shapur I or that Vasudeva I was dethroned by him in 241 A D On the other hand, Marshall cites archaeological evidence from Taxila in support of his view that Ardashir was responsible for the downfall of the Kusāna empire,[19] while Schlumberger examines the ruins of the Kusana sanctuary at Surkh Kotal to put forward his theory that its destruction was caused by Ardashir I at the end of the reign of Huviska [20]

4 As regards Kaṇiska's expedition against Parthia, there is nothing to support the supposition of Ghirshman that it took place during the reign of Vologases, it might have taken place during the period of Pacorus who had a disturbed reign [21]

There is no doubt that the names "Potiao' and "Vehsadjan" are used for Vasudeva and that the Sassanian kings conquered the territories which were formerly under the control of the Kusāna rulers But numismatic evidence also reveals the fact that the Kusana rulers continued to rule over the Kabul valley long after the death of Vasudeva I issuing their own coins and that some of them bore his name [2] Ghirshman himself admits the existence of Vasudeva II and Vasudeva III [3] There is therefore no basis for the assumption that the conquest of Peshawar by Shapur I signified the end of the rule of Vasudeva I"[4] and not that of Vasudeva II The Kusana king who sent an embassy to China in A D 230 and fought against Ardashir in A D 227 might well therefore, be identified with Vasudeva II and not Vasudeva I as the following facts go against the theory advocated by Ghirshman —

1 The Sue Vihara inscription of the year 11 issued during the reign of Kaniska shows clearly that the Bahawalpur area in the Lower Indus Valley was included in his dominions in or before 155 A D, if we place the date of Kaniska s accession to the throne at 144 A D Gujarat (Saurashtra) had already come under the control of the Kusanas during the reign of Wema Kadphises "[5] But the Junagarh inscription issued during the reign of Rudradaman who was ruling as a practically independent ruler makes the categorical statements that about 150 A D Rudradaman was the lord of Saurashtra and Sauvira and that he completely crushed the Yaudheyas "[6] Now Sauvira included the territory along the Indus about Multan "[7] and the Yaudheyas resided in Rajasthan near Bahawalpur where their descendants the Johiya Rajputs are still found [8] These facts cannot be reconciled if we accept 144 A D as the initial year of Kaniska s reign Rudradaman could not have claimed to occupy those territories which were under the control of Wema Kadphises or Kaniska

Ghirshman s contention that Rudradaman should be regarded as a vassal of the Kusana kings on the strength of the humble title 'Raja Mahaksatrapa assumed by him"[9] cannot be accepted He does not explain why Rudradaman was allowed to issue his own coinage, to employ his own system of chronology different from that of his overlord by omitting to mention the name of his sovereign in his inscription, and to feel proud of claiming conquests

well within the confines of the Kusana empire[30] The successors of Rudradāman also used the same humble title but there can be no doubt of their sovereignty It is quite obvious that Kaniska and Rudradaman could not be contemporaries

2 There is no well known era which started in the second century A D , but we know from epigraphic evidence that Kaniska did start a regnal reckoning which was continued by his successors Later on it came to be known as the Śaka era

3 Basham puts forward an interesting argument against the date 144 A D He argues that the title Kaisar (Caesar—a Roman title) attached with the name of Kaniska in the Ara inscription of the year 41[31] shows clearly that the fame of the Roman emperor must have been very strong at the Kusāna court at that time, the title was never after used in India by the Kusana kings It may, therefore, be safely inferred that it was used by Kaniska at the time of some great Roman victory over Parthia, soon after which the Roman power in the East declined and the fame of the Roman emperor grew weaker at the Kusāna court The date 144 A D cannot be accepted for this purpose, as it would mean that the title was assumed during the inactive reign of Commodus, the successor of Marcus Aurelius [32]

Ghirshman explains the Ara inscription in a strange way he suggests that the inscription refers to Kaṇiska merely to indicate that the era in which it was dated was founded by him and that he himself was dead at that time [33] But this hypothesis cannot be accepted as it is incredible that the donor of the inscription should take the trouble of giving the dead king full imperial titles with an additional title 'Kaisar unique in India at that time, of specifying the name of Kaniska's father (Vajheshka) but not mentioning the ruling king [34] There is no doubt that the Kaniska of the Ara inscription was Kaniska II[35] who was ruling in the north-western parts of the Kusana empire in the year 41, corresponding to 119 A D

4 According to Konow, the only set of years in the 2nd Century A D which satisfies the astronomical data given in the Zeda inscription of the year 11 and the Und inscription of the year 61 is Kaliyuga 3240 for the Zeda inscription and 3290 for the Und inscription, giving us the date 128-29 A D for the commencement of Kaniska s reign ,[36] the date 144 A D can, therefore be safely set aside

FOOT-NOTES

1 Ghirshman s theory placing the date of Kaniska's accession the throne at 144 A D is mentioned in the book on pp viii, and 63, and is rejected for the reasons given on pp 63 65

2 *IG*, p 261

3 *BG*, p 107

4 *BG*, p 107

5 *Ibid*

6 *Ibid*

7 San kuo Chih (Section Wei Chih, Chap III, p 3) vide *BG*, p 100, *CHM* iii 1957, p 701, *SP*, p 318

8 *BG* pp 100 101 *CHM*, iii 1957 p 700
Ardashir ruled over Persia from A D 226 to 241

9 *BG*, pp 100-101 *CHM*, iii, 1957 pp 700 701

10 *BG*, p 107

11 *BG*, p 107 *CHM*, iii, 1957, pp 709 10

Shapur I was the son of Ardashir and ruled over Persia from A D 241 to 272

12 *PK*, pp 97, 102, 108 *CHM*, iii, 1957, pp 710 12

13 *IG*, p 292

14 Schlumberger thinks that Surkh Kotal was destroyed during the reign of Huviska by Ardashir I as no coins of Vasudeva have been found there (*JA* 1952 pp 433 ff *Ibid*, 1954, pp 173 77 *CHM*, iii, 1957, pp 700 701)

Marshall also carried out archaeological explorations at Taxila He attributes the decline of the Kusana empire to the con quests of Ardashir I "Possibly it was this invasion of Ardashir s that caused the hurried burial of the many hoards of Vasudeva s coins that have been unearthed in Buddhist monasteries of the third century at Taxila and elsewhere —*GT*, Vol I, p 73

15 *BG* pp 86, 99 101, 163 *CHM*, iii, 1957 pp 698 99, 707 10
He distinguishes the coins of Vasudeva I from those of Vasudeva II or III

16 *CHM*, iii 1957, pp 708 709

17 *IG*, p 262

18 See pp 77 82

19 *GT* Vol I, p 73

20 *JA*, 1954 pp 173 77

21 See p 107

22 *CCIM* pp 87 88 *LIS*, pp 23 24 SSLK, pp 39 48

23 *BG* p 164

24 See pp 277 278

25 See p 42

26 The Junagarh inscription records the repair of the Sudarshan lake which had been damaged in the year 72 (corresponding to 150 A D) The repairs did not take a long time to be completed *IA* 1913 pp 188 90 *EI*, Vol VIII, p 42f

27 *JRAS*, 1939 p 239

28 *JRAS*, 1939, p 229

29 *CHM*, iii, 1957, p 714, f n iii

30 The victories recorded in the Junagarh inscription were for the self aggrandisement and glorification of the Mahaksatrapa only, there is absolutely no reference to the Kusana king in that inscription

31 See pp 260 61

32 *BSOAS*, Vol XX, 1957, 85 87
Basham favours the date 78 A D for this purpose He states that if we place the date of Kaniska s accession to the throne at A D 78 128 or 144, the date of the Ara inscription will fall in A D 119, 169 or 185 respectively During the second century A D , Rome conducted three great wars against Parthia, the first under Trajan from 113 to 117, the second under Marcus Aurelius from 162 165 and the third under Septimius Severus from 195 202 Of the three, the last one is too late for our purposes The first one was very brilliant, resulting in the conquest of Armenia Mesopotamia and Babylonia, but these provinces were soon afterwards lost during the reign of Trajan s successor, Hadrian The second

was less spectacular, but was more durable in its results, since it led to the annexation of N W Mesopotamia The most suitable date for the assumption of the title is A D 119, as it might be safely inferred that Kaniska adopted the title at the time of Trajan s triumphs, but abandoned it during the reign of Hadrian The year 128 for the accession of Kaniska is less probable, as the second campaign was neither so great nor so temporary as that of Trajan

33 *BG*, pp 101 102

34 *BSOAS* XX, 1957 pp 79 80

35 See pp 154-159

36 The other dates which are given for this purpose are 79 A D, 117 A D and 134 A D See pp 87, 74 The date 128 29 A D, is discussed in details on pp 63 65 The date 79 A D is accepted for the reasons given on pp 71-77

APPENDIX III

GHIRSHMAN'S ACCOUNT OF THE EXCAVATIONS AT BEGRĀM

Ghirshman gives an interesting account of the excavations carried out at Begram which was a flourishing city during the period of the Early Kusana rulers.[1] He describes the architectural remains and objects of the period of Kaniska's dynasty. He adduces archaeological evidence to support his theory that Kaniska ascended the throne in 144 A D. He asserts that the empire of Vasudeva I was ravaged by the Sassanian king, Shapur I who destroyed the city of *Bagram between A D 241 and 250*. He *argues that* as the latest coins found at Begram are those of Vasudeva I who reigned up to the year 98 of the Kaniska era. Kaniska came to the throne in 144 A D.[3] But his arguments are untenable as there is no solid proof that Begram was destroyed during the reign of Vāsudeva I or that Shapur I was responsible for its destruction. Moreover there are many other facts which go conclusively against his theory.[4]

Ghirshman describes the articles found in the ruins of the palace of Kaniska and his successors at Begram: the ivory objects which have been discovered depict the Mathura School of art.[5] He gives an account of ceramics, bronze statues and other articles of that period excavated from that city.[6] The Kusana aristocrats evidently enjoyed a life of luxury, the Kusana empire had become rich on account of the extensive trade carried on with foreign countries. It enjoyed a favourable balance of trade with Rome.[7]

Foreign influences were at work at Begram, China was represented by lacquer works. Graeco Roman art found an expression *in many objects in particular painted glasses statuettes in* bronze and medallion in plaster,[8] and the architectural remains portray the influence exercised by Alexandria.[9]

FOOT-NOTES

1. *BG* pp 153 54
2. *BG* pp 26 30, 54 69

3 See Appendix II

According to Ghirshman the excavations at Begrām, "the capital of the Kusana Kingdom", led to the identification of three strata, the second layer belonged to the period of Kaniṣka Huviska and Vāsudeva I, and was abandoned as a result of destruction caused by a fire during the rule of Vāsudeva I After a short break, a new city of a different plan (third layer) sprang up and the rulers belonged to the later Kusana dynasty (*CHM*, iii 1957 pp 698 99) Ghirshman found 59 coins of Hermaios and Kujula Kadphises, 26 of Wema Kadphises, 29 of Soter Megas, 44 of Kaniska 59 of Huviska and 8 of Vāsudeva (*BG*, pp 85 ff)

4 See Appendix II

5 *BG*, p 180 Their carvings exhibit many scenes of surpassing beauty which is portrayed according to the ancient Indian ideals, displaying intimate erotic charm without the least vulgarity Their exquisite beauty and perfect workmanship have won appreciation of many art critics (See p 177)

Hackin also compares the art depicted at Begrām with that of Mathura, and finds a remarkable resemblance in them

(i) The motif of the vyalaka (lion) doing the work of a bracket is found on the backs of seats and in the representation of the torana (gates)

(ii) The torana having three architraves of the classical type appears to be loaded with decoration covering not only the three architraves but also interstitial zones, dwarfs, kinnaras and tortoises

(iii) The ornamentation of the architraves—lotus, flowers and leaves of Ashoka quatrefoils is tinged with classicism

(iv) The elephants and the 'makaras' arranged in the compartments included between the double bands compare with the capitals at Mathura (v) The standing lion serves as a link between the upper and the lower parts of the capital (*JUPHS*, Vol XIII, 1940, pp 1 7)

6 *BG*, pp 26 40

7 *Ibid*, pp 153-54

8 *JUPHS*, Vol XIII, 1940, p 6

9 *BG*, p 153

APPENDIX IV

THE SURKH KOTAL INSCRIPTION

The Delegation Archeologique Francaise en Afghanistan carried out excavations at Surkh Kotal[1] the ancient Bagolango, and was able to bring to light the ruins of a sanctuary built by the Kusana kings Schlumberger identified three periods in its existence

(i) its construction,

(ii) additions made to it and its destruction by fire and

(iii) its modest revival

He found fourteen coins of the Kusana kings on the ancient site—seven of Kaniska, two of Huviska and the rest were not identified[2]

He attributed the destruction of the sanctuary to Ardashir I at the end of the reign of Huviska as no coins of Vasudeva are found there Ghirshman was, however of the opinion that Ardashir was a contemporary of Vasudeva I and that the Kusana empire was destroyed by Shapur I[3] But their views are not justified[4]

The Surkh Kotal inscription was discovered by the French Mission in 1957[5] It is in Greek script and Indo-Bactrian language It records the repair of a sanctuary which had been founded by Kaniska and which had fallen into desrepair and abandoned The repair was carried out by the official, Nokonzoko, the lord of *the Marchel who was loyal and devoted to the* Emperor and who came there in the year 31 and repaired and adorned the place by circumvallating the acropolis, digging a well, conducting its water out and setting up stones on pillars, so that pure water should not be *lacking It implied that he built an aqueduct in the year 31*, the inscription must have been recorded sometime after his visit Three other officials of equal rank were associated with him in this work The inscription was written by Mihraman and Burzmihrpuhr who signed it and caused the heraldic devices to be incised after their names[6]

Maricq advanced two hypotheses to explain the date 31, either that Kaniska continued to live in Bactria beyond the year 23, leaving the rule of Gandhara and India to others or that the era of

the inscription was different from that used in the inscriptions issued during the period of Kaniska and his successors[7] But he was not justified in his views There is no doubt that Kaniska I did not *rule beyond the year 23*[8] *and that Kaniska* and his successors used the era started by him[9] Henning considers that the inscription was not issued during the reign of Kaniska but that it was issued during the period of Huviska[10] He attributes the foundation of the sanctuary to Kaniska and places its restoration in the early part of Huviska s reign[11] But the mention of the name of the king Kaniska with his titles BADOSHAO and MAEZOMO correspon ding to Kaiser and the observation that Nokonzoko was loyal to the Emperor and most devoted to him shows that Kaniska must have been ruling at the time when Nokonzoko carried out the work of repairs in the year 31[12] In other words the king can be easily identified with Kaniska II who succeeded to the north western parts of the empire during the year 28 29 and continued to rule there till the year 41[13]

FOOT NOTES

1 Surkh Kotal lies en route from Kabul to Mazar-i Sharif (*BSOAS*, 1956, p 366 n)

2 *JA* 1954 pp 175 79

3 See Appendix II

4 See Appendix II

5 The Director of the French Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan (D Schlumberger) and its Secretary (A Hilmi) were kind enough to tend me a copy of the photograph of the inscription in 1959 just before the submission of my Thesis to the University I was able to decipher the title given to Kaniṣka in the inscription see p 258 The inscription was published in *JA*, CCXLVI, 4 1958 pp 345 440 by M Andre Maricq (The issue of the journal did not reach India before the submission of the Thesis) W B Hennings wrote an article about it in *BSOAS*, XXIII 1960, pp 47-55

6 *BSOAS* 1960 pp 47 55 See photograpn
7 *JA* 1958 pp 384 ff
8 See pp 154 159
9 See pp 245 ff
10 *BSOAS* 1960 p 48
11 *Ibid* p 55
12 See p 258
13 See pp 155 59

APPENDIX V

RECENT EXCAVATIONS RELATING TO THE EARLY KUṢANA PERIOD IN THE U S S R[1]

The excavations carried out in Termez[2] and its outskirts and in Khorezm[3] Tali Barzou,[4] Kobadian (Kafirniganal)[5] and Qala-i-Mir[6] in recent years have revealed many objects of the Early Kusāna period from those localities[7] They bear an eloquent testimony to the fact that the Early Kusana empire and the Buddhist religion which Kaniska patronised spread in large tracts of Central Asia such as Tadjikistan and Ujbekistan as far as the Aral Sea But they have not so far given any conclusive evidence regarding the exact date of the Kusana rulers

Coins of Vasudeva I have been discovered at Airtam-Termez[8] and Khorezm[9] Remains of the Early Kusāna period have been unearthed in Kobadian IV[10]

A stone frieze which adorned the outer walls of a building, possibly a Buddhist temple, has been found at Airtam, situated on the right bank of the Amu Darya 18 kilometres north of Termez Other fragments which have been unearthed include half figures of youths and girls—musicians and garland bearers depicted on the frieze between acanthus leaves They show elements of Indian and Greek art, but have a style of their own[11]

At Kara Tepe in the outskirts of Termez, remains of an ancient Buddhist monastery consisting of a large number of caves have been found Another cave type monastery has been discovered at Jenghiz-Tepe[12]

In Khorezm the Kusanas built fortresses to keep a watch over their northern border one of them, Gyaur Kala was on the right bank of the Amu Darya It had a big square hall with painting on walls Each wall had a niche in the middle The ceiling was supported by columns with profiled stone bases A clay sculpture of a man's head has been discovered the head is shown as wearing a Scythian peaked hat[13]

The ruins of the rural settlements reveal that they comprised big unfortified estates, each of which had a large plot of land surrounded by a low brick wall, the fortresses and watch-towers guarding those settlements were situated separately [14]

Toprak Kala was one of the best fortified towns of Khorezm [15]

The ruins of another Buddhist monastery of between the 1st and the 3rd centuries A D have recently been discovered by the Soviet archaeologists under the leadership of Dr V A Shishkin near the old site of Termez Fragments of vessels and of painted alabaster statues, inscriptions, coins, lanterns and parts of a stone relief have been found in it [16]

A gallery of representatives of the royal family of the first Kusāna principality has been found in the ruins of a palace in *Khalchavan in the valley of the Surhan Darya (U S S R)* The sculpture, according to Pugachenkova is extremely realistic and inspired and features a whole gallery of personalities with their own characters and feelings The clay-statues from Khalchayan castle and gypsum statues from Dalverzin sanctuary are of great artistic value [17]

In Northern Bactria, four large burial sites were excavated in Tulkhar, Aruktaus, Kot Kum, in the Bishkent valley (South Tajikistan) and Babashov sight on the right bank of the Amu Darya (East Turkmenistan) Over 500 Kurgans were investigated, and pottery weapons, objects of clothing and ornaments were found The types of ceramics and the coins which were discovered show that the nomads invaded Bactria in the 2nd century B C [18]

A large number of burial sites have been discovered in the Bokhara Oasis [19]

There is some controversy among scholars over the Northern borders of the Kusana empire under the Early Kusana rulers There is no doubt that the Kusanas exercised complete control over Bactria south of the Amu Darya as this area is noted for an extreme abundance of Kusana coins of all categories The Kusana sway over the territories north of the Amu Darya can be inferred from the following facts —

1 Some 70 specimens of Kusāna coins relating to Kadphises II, Kaniska, Huviska and mainly to Vasudeva have been found in Khorezm The vast majority of the copper coins have

a countermark in the form of the tamga of the local Khorezmian rulers

2 There is a phonetic similarity between the name Kusana on the one hand and the names of Kasan or Kesh in Fergana and Kushani in the Zeravshan Valley on the other hand

3 The Gandhara style of the monumental sculpture of Toprak kala

4 Presence of Buddhist motifs in some Khorezmian terracotta figurines

The Soghdian region, however, continued to enjoy an almost independent status as is evidenced from the freedom which they enjoyed in coining their own money"[0]

Recent archaeological discoveries have shown that many artistic schools which combined in them the best achievements of ancient culture with the elements of local artistic traditions flourished in the Kusana period The Soviet scholars have unearthed remarkable master pieces of art of the local schools of Central Asa which came into being and flourished in the Kusāna period The famous stone reliefs of Airtam, the clay sculpture of the small palace at Khalchayan and the monuments found at Oi-Khanum in North Afghanistan and Dalverzin Tepe in Uzbekistan are fine specimens of the Kusana art, its traditions greatly influenced the development of the peoples of India Central Asia, Afghanistan, Pakistan and other countries"[1]

There was a significant advance in agriculture and irrigation in Central Asia during the Kusana period In Bishkent Valley, a large canal was dug which gave life to an oasis with three new settlements An attempt was made to irrigate the northern part of the valley with a 3 kilometre long underground canal-kyariz Agricultural population settled in the heart of mountainous regions of Central Tadjikistan In the Kusāna stratum on the Tali Barzu site close to Samarkand for the first time, an iron plough share was found, Khorezmian excavations furnish evidence that canal system was improved in Kusana times"[2]

The standards of town life in Khorezm, Soghd and Northern Bactria were quite high Numerous towns which sprang up had thick walls with rectangular towers and a regular rectangular lay out Crafts and trade flourished, as can be inferred from the

findings of hard ware and earthen-ware shops and from the high quality of pottery, metal articles and jewellery "[3]

FOOT NOTES

1. A detailed account of the archaeological discoveries and culture of Central Asia in the Kusana period has recently been published in "Kuṣāna Studies in U S S R" Indian Studies, Past and Present, Calcutta, 1970
2. Termez (ancient Tarmita) is situated in South Uzbekistan (U S S R) on the north bank of the Oxus, it was an important commercial centre (*GBI*, pp 118 19, 525)
3. Khorezm is situated in Uzbekistan (U S S R)
4. Modern Samarqand in Uzbekistan
5. It is situated in South Tadjikistan (U S S R)
6. It is situated in South Tadjikistan
7. Personal Letter dated the 22nd August, 1962 from Dr Pikulin, Deputy Director, Institute of Oriental Studies, Tashkent *KSII*, Vol VIII, 1940, pp 113 14 *KSIE*, Vol XXII, 1955 pp 72, 87 *DK*, 1948, pp 165, 177 *VDI*, 1938, pp 127 28 *GTG*, Vol II, 1940, p 95 f *MIAS*, No 37, 1953, pp 253 301 *AM*, pp 268 70, 278-79
8. *KSII* Vol *VIII*, 1940, pp 113-114
9. *DK*, p 119
10. *CHM*, p 708
11. *AM*, p 279, *KSIU*, pp 73 74
12. *AM*, pp 279-80 *KSIU*, pp 77 80

    A Kaniṣka coin was found in the brick-work of the walls of the Buddhist complex at Airtam, and five Kaniska coins were designated as surface finds (*KSIU*, p 74, f n 75) coins of Kadphises I and II were unearthed at Dalverzin Tepe in Uzbekistan (*KSIU* p 81) Coins of Kadphises I, Kaṇiska and Huviska were discovered at Haidrabad Tepe town site, 30 Km to the north of Termez, and two hundred coins were found at the Zar Tepe town site, 4 Km to the South of the Haidrabad Tepe (*KSIU*, p 135)

    The characteristic feature of temple architecture of Kusana Bactria is the use on a wide scale in various religious

structures (Buddhist on Kara-Tepe in old Termez and non-Buddhist in Surkh Kotal in Afghanistan) of one and the same lay out—a closed sanctuary with three or four processional corridors (*KSIU*, p 44)

13 *AM*, pp 268 69

14 *Ibid*, p 269

15 *Ibid*, p 270

16 Personal letter dated 22nd August, 1962, from Dr Pikulin, Deputy Director, Institute of Oriental Studies, Tashkent

17 G A Pugachenkova—Kusana Art in the Light of Recent Discoveries in Northern Bactria, *KSIU*, pp 177-78

18 A M Mandelshtam—Archaeological Data on the Origin and Early History of the Kuṣāns, *KSIU*, pp 165 66

19 *KSIU* pp 183 85

20 M E. Masson—Towards the Problem of the Northern Borders of the State of the "Great Kusāns"—*KSIU*, pp 167-68

21 G M Bongard Levin—Foreword in *KSIU*, p ii

22 G M Bongard-Levin, B Y Stavisky—Central Asia in the Kusan Period, *KSIU*, p 43

23 *Ibid*, *KSIU*, p 44

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Dharmaraksha—Fo sho-hing-tsan-king, translation into Chinese of Aśvaghosa's Buddhacharita, translated into English by Samuel Beal Oxford, 1883

Asvaghosa was the spiritual counsellor of Kaniska , his work was translated into Chinese in the middle of the 3rd century A D. The Chinese version consists of 28 cantos

Fa hien—Fo-kuo-ki, translated (i) by Samuel Beal in the "Travels of Fa Hian and Sung Yun, Buddhist Pilgrims ', London, 1869, and in the "Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol I ", Boston 1885 and

(ii) by James Legge in 'A Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms", Oxford, 1886

Fa hien was a Chinese pilgrim who stayed in India from A D 399-413 He records interesting stories about Kaniska's tope (relic tower) and Buddha's alms bowl which Kaniska had brought from Pataliputra He believed in miracles, and much of what he has written is pure legend, but it shows that the tower and the bowl were held in high esteem by the Buddhists

Fan-Ye—Heou Han Chou (History of the Later Han Dynasty), translated by E Chavannes in Toung Pao, Serie II, 1907, tome VIII, pp 149-234 Extracts rendered into English by W R Philipps in IA, 1903, p 417

Fan Ye died about 445 A D His History covers the period from A D 25 to 220 His account of the Western Regions (Turkestan) is based on the report which Pan Yong, son of General Pan chao, made about 125 A.D He gives a brief account of the early history of the Kusanas, and describes the defeat of one of their kings by the Chinese in 90 A D

Hiuen Tsang—Ta Tang-Tsi-yu-ki (Records of the Western Lands of the Great Tang Period) translated by Thomas Watters in the "On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India", London, 1905, and by

Samuel Beal in the "Buddhist Records of the Western World', London, 1906

Hieun Tsang was a Chinese pilgrim whose travels in India extended from A D 629 to 645 He distinguishes between the common four-fold division of the seasons and the three fold one used by the Buddhists The latter system of dividing the year into a hot season (Grisma) followed by a rainy season (Varsā) and a cold season (Hemanta) was followed in the inscriptions of the Kusāna period He gives a good account of the Buddhist Council summoned by Kaniska, but mixes facts with fantasy He also relates the story of the introduction of peaches and pears in India by a Chinese hostage at Kaniska s court

Hwui Li—The Life of Hiuen Tsiang translated by Samuel Beal London 1911

Hwui Li s work is a supplement to the Hsi yu-ki He gives a good account of the Buddhist Council summoned by Kaniska

I tsing—A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago, translated by J Takakusu, Oxford, 1896

I-tsing was a Chinese pilgrim who visited India and the Malay Archipelago (A D 671-95) He gives interesting details about Buddhist customs and practices in India

Ki kia ye and Tan iao—Fou-fa-tsang in iuen king, or Fou fa-tsang in iuen tchoen, Nanjio, 1340 translation of Sri dharma-pitaka nidāna sutra in 472 A D extracts rendered into English from Sylvain Levi s French translation (*JA*, July December 1896) by W R Philipps in *IA*, 1903, pp 387-88

The date of the original work is not known It contains legends about Kaniska s conquest of Hoa chen (Pataliputra) and Ngan si (Parthia) his pilgrimage to Kipin to see the Buddhist scholar, Dharmamitra, his relations with the physician Charaka, his plans for conquering the northern region and his death The book is, however full of incredible stories such as the transformation of a ball of clay into a statue of the Buddha at the prayer of Kaniska, and the births of the king as a many headed fish for his cruel deeds

Ki-kia-ye and Tan-iao—Tsa-pao-tsang-king, Nanjio, 1329, translation of Samyukta ratna-pitaka in 472 A D, extracts rendered

into English from Sylvain Levi s French translation (*JA*, July December, 1896) by W R Philipps in *IA*, 1903, pp 386 87

The date of the original work is not known It relates stories about Kaniṣka's intimate friends, his expedition to the Tsoung-ling (Bolor) mountains and his pilgrimage to Kipin to see the Buddhist saint, Ki ye-to

Kumarajiva—Ta-tchoang ien king lun, Nanjio, 1182 translation of Sutralamkara sastra about 405 A D , extracts rendered into English from Sylvain Levi s French translation (*JA* July-December, 1896) by W R Philipps in *IA* 1903, pp 384 86 The Chinese ascribe Sutrālamkara sastra to Asvaghosa , but from the fragments of its original Sanskrit text with the title Kalpanamanditika discovered at Turfan, it is obvious that its real author was Kumāralāta, probably a junior contemporary of Asvaghosa It describes Kaniska s conquest of Toung Tien chou (East India) and his love for Buddhism The author reveals his belief in miracles and his dislike of Jainism

Li Tao Yuan—Shui ching chu quoted in the "Northern India according to the Shui ching-chu", edited by L Petech Rome, 1950

Li Tao yuan wrote his work at the beginning of the 6th century A D It is a commentary on the Shui Ching a small text traditionally attributed to the Later Han Dynasty (25 A D —220 A D) but probably written during the period of the Three Kingdoms (A D 220-65) Li Tao yuan draws his material from the compilations of Chinese pilgrims and the stories related by travellers He describes the various localities of northern India from the point of view of Buddhist lore He gives a fanciful account of the Buddha s bowl placed in a stupa of seven storeys

Ma twan lin—Wen hsien tung-kao (*Encyclopaedia*), translated by A Remusat, Paris, 1829

It was written in the 13th century, but contains many references about the Yue chi made by early writers

Pan ku—Tsien Han Chou (History of the First Han Dynasty), translated by H H Dubs, Baltimore. 1938 Extracts translated by A Wylie in the 'Notes on the Western Regions" in the Journal of Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland Vol X, London, 1881, pp 20 73, and XI, 1882, pp 83-115

It covers the period from 206 B C to 24 A D It was completed by Pan-ku's sister after his death which occurred in 92 A D It contains valuable material for the early history of the Yue chi and the origin of the Kuṣanas

Paramārtha—The Life of Vasubandhu, translated by J Takakusu, P T S edition 1904

Paramārtha (A D 499 569) went to China to teach the gospel of the Buddha He translated many Buddhist treatises into Chinese His "Life of Vasubandhu" describes the part played by Aśvaghosa in the redaction of commentaries drafted by the Buddhist Council summoned by Kātāyaniputra

Ssu ma chien—Sse ki (Historical Records) extracts translated by J Marquart in Eransahr Berlin 1901, pp 201ff and by F W K Muller in *SBAW* 1918, pp 566ff

It was completed before 91 B C and contains useful information about the early history of the Yue chi based on the report of Chang kien (129 B C)

Sung Yun—Private Records, translated from the 5th section of the "History of the Temples of Lo yang' by Samuel Beal in the "Travels of Fa-hian and Sung-yun Buddhist Pilgrims', London, 1869

Sung yun was a Chinese traveller who visited Udyana and Gandhara (A D 518 22) He narrates a legend about the construction of Kaniska s tope

Yu-Houen—Wei-lio, A D 227-39, translated by E Chavannes in Toung Pao, Serie II, tome VI, 1905, pp 519ff

It contains some references about the Yue chi

(B) GREEK

Aelian, C—"On the Peculiarities of Animals", extracts translated by McCrindle in *AICL*, pp 136-49

Aelian flourished in the middle of the 2nd century A D He gives an interesting account of many animals of India but some of his descriptions are unreliable, *e g* he talks of one horned horses and asses (Bk III, C xli) and of gold-digging ants (Bk III, C iv) He quotes many writers who had accompanied Alexander in his expedition to India

Ammianus Marcellinus—History, written about the middle of the 4th century A D , extracts translated in *AIP*, pp 323-29

Ammianus Marcellinus gives an interesting geographical account of Central Asia

Apollonius—"Life of Apollonius of Tyana", composed by Philostratos in about 215-218 A D. from the Note-book of Damis, Apollonius's fellow traveller, translated by O D B Priaulx in the "Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana", London, 1873

Apollonius is said to have visited India in the middle of the first century A D He was accompanied by Damis who kept a record of his sayings and doings during the journey in a journal which was utilized by Philostratos to write the life of Apollonius The work contains much that is mere fiction, it relates a story about the encounter which the travellers had with an empusa (*ITAT*, p 5), and it gives an incorrect description of the country between the Hyphasis (Beas) and the Ganga But the picture which it presents of Taxila has been found to be correct in great details It also supplies useful information about Indian superstitions There is no doubt that Apollonius did journey as far as Taxila, and Philostratos had access to the Note book of his companion, Damis, but his notes are coloured by hearsay stories and tales taken from Greek writers

Bardesanes—Indian Gymnosophists Bardesanes flourished in the 2nd century A D His remarks about India are preserved by Porphyry (A D 233 305) in his treatise "On Abstinence from Animal Food" and translated in AICL, pp 167-71

Bardesanes gives interesting particulars about the Buddhist and Brahman ascetics

Dion Cassius—History of Rome, extracts about India translated in *AICL*, pp 212 13

Dion Cassius was born about 155 A D. His History embraces the period up to 299 A D

Dion Chrysostom—Orations, extracts about India translated in *AICL*, pp 174-77

Dion Chrysostom died about 177 A D He is full of praise for India and its inhabitants, but his orations contain many exaggerated and sometimes unreliable accounts of Indian scenes, *e g* he describes some Indian rivers flowing with wines, honey and oil (XXXV, 434)

Isidore of Charax—Mansiones Parthicae Geographi Graeci Minores, edited and translated by W H Schoff in the 'Parthian Stations of Isidore of Charax', Philadelphia, 1914

Isidore of Charax wrote his account towards the close of the first century B C He supplies valuable information about the overland trade route from Antioch to the borders of India

—*Periplus Maris Erythraei*—(The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea) written towards the close of the 1st century A D translated by W H Schoff, Calcutta 1912

The author of the Periplus whose name is not known was an Egyptian Greek merchant who made a voyage to India He gives valuable information about India s sea trade with foreign countries, its important imports and exports and the difficulties experienced by sailors

Pliny—Naturalis Historia, extracts about India translated in *AICL* pp 102 135

Pliny dedicated his work to Titus in 77 A D It is divided into thirty-seven books the sixth of which contains an account of the geography of India based mainly on the Indika of Megasthenes He gives a description of the plants animals and mineral resources of India

Ptolemy—'An Outline of Geography' translated by J W McCrindle in the Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy, Bombay, 1885 McCrindle s work edited by S Majumdar, Calcutta 1927

Ptolemy flourished in the middle of the 2nd century A D in Alexandria His book is very valuable for providing us with a description of the ancient trade routes and for giving us the names of *ancient cities rivers and countries* He made the work of Marinos of Tyre the basis of his treatise, and got information directly from Indian sources rather than from reports of travellers and traders who had visited the country But his account is overlaid with chartographic details some of which have now proved to be inaccurate

Strabo—Geography, extracts about India translated in AICL, pp 6 101

Strabo completed his work in about 19 A D He was a great traveller his peregrinations led him as far as Armenia He quotes many Greek writers in his account of India

(C) ARAB

Alberuni—Tahkik i Hind translated by E C Sachau in Alberuni s India London 1914 Alberuni wrote about 1030 A D He relates interesting but unreliable legends about the origin of the Kusana rule in Kabul and Kaniska s exhibition of super natural powers in his campaign against the king of Kanauj (THA 207 208 in *AIS* Vol II pp 10 12)

(D) TIBETAN

Bu ston—History of Buddhism translated by Obermiller Vols I and II 1931 32

Bu s on (1 90 1364 A D) was a great Tibetan scholar He wrote the *History of Buddhism and collected Tibetan translations* of Buddh st works nto two comprehens ve groups called the Bkah hgyur (the word of the Buddha) and the Bstan hgvur (the Treat ses) The Bkah hgyur is popularly called the Kanjur and the Bstan hgyur s popularly known as the Tanjur

Matrcheta—Maharaja Kanika lekha, Tanjur Mdo XXXIII, foll 78 82 XCIV 295 99 translated by F W Thomas in *IA* 1903, pp 355 60 and by S C *Vidyabhushana in JPASB* 1910 pp 475 80

Mātrcheta wrote a letter to king Kanika, but Matrcheta should not be identified with Asvaghoṣa King Kanika was also quite different from the Kusana king Kaniska (See pp 182 83)

—*Pag sam jon zang*—pp 83 91 translated in *JPASB* 1910 p 480 It gives an account of the Buddhist Council summoned by *Kaniska*

Tāranath—History of Indian Buddhism, translated by F A Von Schiefner St Petersburg 1869

Taranāth completed his work in 1608 He describes the Buddhist legends about Kaniska and Asvaghosa He however wrongly dentifies the latter with Matrcheta

(E) KHOTANESE

—*Khotanese Manuscripts from Tun hwang* (now in the Pelliot Collection at the Bibliotheque Nat onale Paris roll numbered P 2787 lines 154 94) tran lated by H W Bailey in *JRAS* 1942, pp 14 28 The Khotanese manuscripts describe a legend about the

construction of Kaniska's stūpa, and reveal the Buddhist belief in miracles.

(F) INDIAN RELIGIOUS BOOKS

(a) *Buddhist*

Aśvaghosa—Buddhacharita translated by E H Johnston, London, 1932.

Aśvaghosa was the spiritual counsellor of Kaniska His works depict not only the fashions of the period with which they deal but also of the times during which he lived

Kumāralata—Kalpanāmanditikā

The work was discovered in fragments from the finds from Turfan by Luders and edited by him in Bruchstucke der Kalpanamanditika des Kumāralāta, Leipzig, 1926 The fragments are very few in number, but its Chinese version has been preserved for us by Kumarajiva (Supra)

—*Śri-dharma pitaka-nidāna-sūtra*, translated into Chinese by Ki-kia ye and Tan-iao (Supra)

—*Samyukta-ratna-pitaka-sūtra*, translated into Chinese by Ki kia-ye and Tan-iao (Supra)

(b) *Jain*

—*Kālakacharyakathānaka*, edited by H Jacobi in *ZDMG*, 1880 pp 247-318 the story is narrated in *LRB*, pp 120 42 and in *CII*, Vol II Pt I, pp xxvi-xxvii

The name of the author is not known but the story is related in many Jain treatises written after the 11th century A D It mixes facts with fiction in describing the origin of the Śaka era There is no doubt that the era started as stated in it, "when 135 years of the Vikrama era had elapsed" But the stories about the abduction of the sister of the Jain teacher Kālakāchārya by Gardabhilla the king of Ujjain, the defeat of the latter by the Śaka kings by choking to death the she-ass which killed 108 archers at each braying in the battle-field and the establishment of the Śaka era by a Śaka king after the destruction of the dynasty of Vikramāditya are purely fictitious

(c) *Hindu*

—*Vāyu Purāna*, edited by H N Apte, 1905

—*Visnu Purana* translated by H H Wilson London, 1804, published also in the Works of the Late Horace Hayman Wilson, Vol IX, edited by F Hall London, 1868

The date of the Puranas is uncertain Their genealogical tables do not include the names of the Kusāna kings They, however contain valuable information about some Indian dynasties and about the condition of India under foreign rule from the Brahmanical point of view Some of the statements made in them about historical facts are of a very general nature in the form of prophecy, and have to be used as a source material with great caution

(G) INDIAN CHRONICLES AND HISTORIES

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Very few Muslim historians refer to the names of Kusāna kings They do not provide us with any useful information about them

Kalhana—Rajatarangini, translated by M A Stein, 2 Vols, London, 1900

Kalhana makes a mention of the three Kusana kings—Huska, Juska and Kaniska, and their love for constructing cities, monasteries and other buildings But the chronological details given by him are extremely misleading

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(ii) Excavations at Taxila, MASI, No 7, Calcutta, 1921. ASIAR, 1929-30, pp 55-97

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mentioning some religious endowment or the erection of a well for public welfare Strictly speaking, they are not official documents or proclamations They throw a great deal of light on the social, religious and political condition of the people in the Kusāna empire

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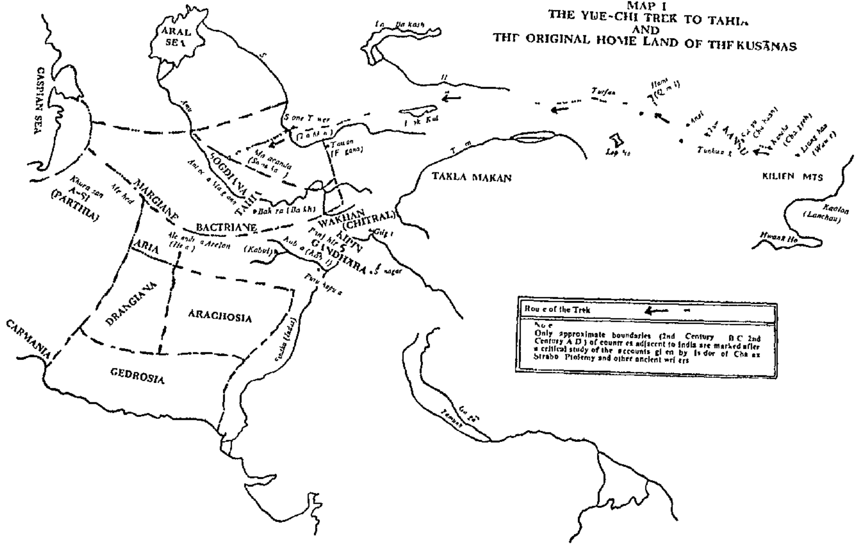
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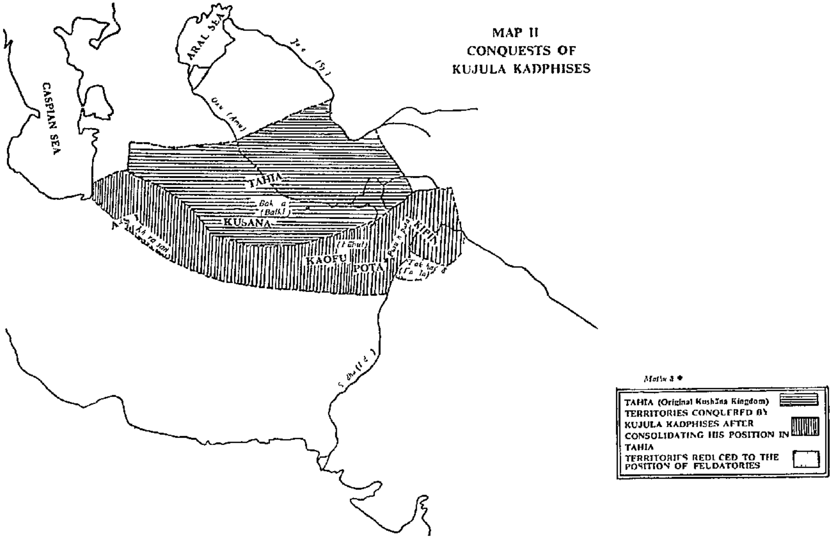
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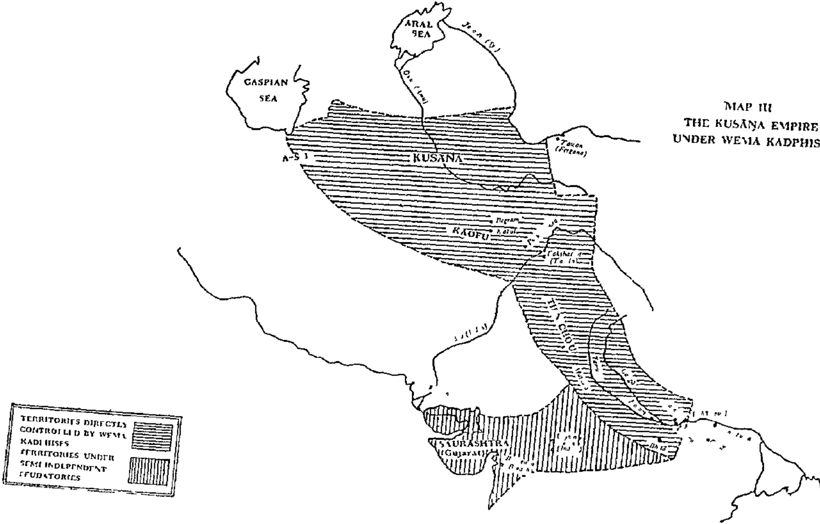
MAP I
THE YUE-CHI TREK TO TAHIA
AND
THE ORIGINAL HOME LAND OF THE KUSĀNAS

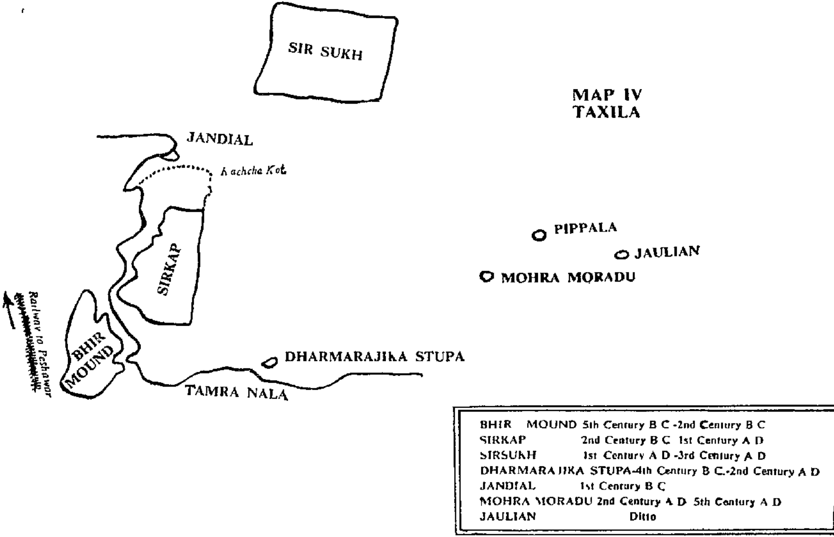


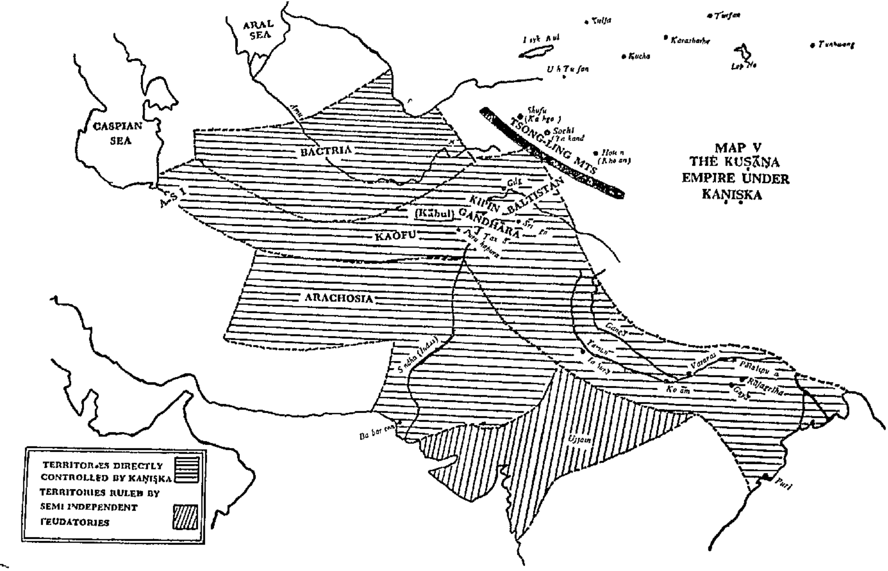
MAP II
CONQUESTS OF KUJULA KADPHISES



MAP III
THE KUSĀṆA EMPIRE
UNDER WEMA KADPHISES




MAP IV
TAXILA
SIR SUKH
JANDIAL
Kachcha Kot
SIRKAP
BHIR MOUND
Railway to Peshawar
DHARMARAJIKA STUPA
TAMRA NALA
PIPPALA
JAULIAN
MOHRA MORADU
BHIR MOUND 5th Century B C -2nd Century B C
SIRKAP 2nd Century B C 1st Century A D
SIRSUKH 1st Century A D -3rd Century A D
DHARMARAJIKA STUPA-4th Century B C.-2nd Century A D
JANDIAL 1st Century B C
MOHRA MORADU 2nd Century A D 5th Century A D
JAULIAN Ditto


MAP V
THE KUṢĀṆA
EMPIRE UNDER
KAṆIṢKA
CASPIAN SEA
ARAL SEA
BACTRIA
KAOFU
ARACHOSIA
(Kābul)
GANDHĀRA
BALTISTAN
TSONG-LING MTS
Kucha
Tunhwang
Turfan
Karashahr
Ujjain
Puri
Rājagṛha
TERRITORIES DIRECTLY CONTROLLED BY KAṆIṢKA
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